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HERODIAN's
HISTORY,
IN
Eight Books.

HERODIAN's HISTORY

O F

His Own Times,

O R O F T H E

Roman Empire after MARCUS,

Translated into ENGLISH.

With large NOTES, explaining the most remarkable Customs, Ceremonies, Offices, &c.
among the ROMANS,

To which is prefix'd,

An INTRODUCTION, giving a short Account of the
Roman State, from its first Origin, to the Time
where *Herodian's* History commences;

A N D

An APPENDIX added, containing the most memorable
Transactions under the subsequent Emperors to the
Reign of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

With a CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,
And a Copious INDEX.

The Whole design'd as a Compendium both of the
HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES of ROME.

By J. HART.

Αταλαίπωρ ὁ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας· ἢ ὅτι
τὰ ἔποιμα μᾶλλον τρέπον. *Thucydides.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for the AUTHOR,

And sold by T. WALLER in *Fleetstreet*, T. PAYNE in
Round Court in the *Strand*, and R. DODSLEY in
Pall-Mall. M D C C X L I X.



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P R E F A C E.

TH E Sum of what is requisite to be known of ancient Times, and different Nations, may be comprehended under two Heads; *viz.* To be informed of their most remarkable Transactions; and to be acquainted with their Manners, Laws, Institutions, &c. The former of which is the Subject of *Histories*; the latter of Books of *Antiquities*. Of these two Branches of Learning (as far as they relate to the *Roman* Empire) I have endeavoured to join the most material Particulars in one Work. In order to this, and that the Reader might be entertain'd with something besides mere Epitome and Annotation (which, if protracted to any Length, will naturally grow dry and insipid to most Tastes) the main Body of the Work is an exact Translation of **HERODIAN'S HISTORY** *of his own Times*,

from the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus* to that of *Gordian*, exclusive.

I shall not consume my own, nor the Reader's Time, in unnecessary Encomiums on my Author; but shall only observe, that as *Herodian* was a *Greek*, and wrote principally for the Information of such of his Country-men as were unacquainted with the Affairs of the *Romans*; he touches on a great many Customs of that once flourishing People; and is therefore no unfit Author whereon to found a Work of the like Tendency, for the Service of the *English* Reader. Accordingly, Occasion has been taken, wherever the Passage would admit, to give some Account of the Manners, Laws, and Customs of the *Romans*, both Religious and Civil, in NOTES at the Bottom of the Page where each Particular occurred.

Their Religion I have been principally careful to explain; because it has been generally misrepresented by modern Writers; who, through a mistaken Zeal, have sometimes described it in so disadvantageous a
Light,

Light, that it seems incredible it should have ever been entertained by rational Creatures; not to mention how much it reflects on the Goodness of the Supreme Being, to suppose him capable of leaving so great a Number of his Creatures with no better Guide to direct them in an Affair of such infinite Importance.

To expose this unworthy Prejudice, several Parts of the following Work shew the Parity (I might, in some Articles, say the Identity) of the religious Notions of the *Heathen* with those of the *Jews* of Old, and the *Christians* of all Denominations. Nor ought this to be look'd upon as a Disparagement of the two latter, but rather as an Exaltation of the former. For that Man must certainly be of a very mean and narrow Spirit, who would dislike any Truth for no other Reason than it's being extensive. And I much fear, that if *Christianity* itself had no better Proof of its Divinity, than what is drawn from Tradition and Testimony, it would not have so great an Advantage, as it really

has, above other Religions. For the *external* Evidence of all Religions is much the same: They all pretend to Miracles and supernatural Assistance; and the Accounts of these depend for Credit on the Veracity of their several Historians; each of whom, being a Professor of that Religion he intended to recommend, may, by Unbelievers, be suspected of Partiality. But the *internal* Evidence of pure *Christianity* is invincible; I mean, the divine Doctrines of Salvation and Universal Charity. And tho' whatever teaches and inculcates these, propagates the Religion of *Jesus*, and is therefore the *Word of God*; yet, as they are much more frequent and plain in the Sacred Scriptures than in any other Writings, the Bible well deserves the Title of the *best* Book extant; at least till any Man can produce another equally *good*. But as the Historical Parts of it (which may be supposed capable of the same Errors, and liable to the same Alterations as other Writings) seem rather designed to convey some instructive Allegory, than to entertain

entertain

entertain us with bare Narrative; and as the Prophetic Passages are written in a Style wonderfully sublime and poetical; and most of the celestial Truths contained in it were uttered by Persons inspired with a divine Enthusiasm; it seems but a precarious Foundation whereon to build regular elaborate Systems: The Authors of which methodical Compositions, being generally Men of cold reasoning Minds, are very incompetent Judges of religious Emotions. But whatever becomes of Hypothesis and Speculation; and how incapable soever the human Mind may be of comprehending the secret Counsels of God, of understanding his amazing Works, or accounting for his various Dispensations; yet the truly *Evangelical* Doctrines of Love and Mercy, contained in the Holy Scriptures, are sufficient to warm every generous benevolent Heart with sympathetic Ardour, and to win the candid and humble by their soft Attraction. Their Dictates are consonant to the Sentiments of all wise and good Men; by whom they
always

always were, and ever will be embraced; because such Men are influenced by the same godlike Spirit with which they were written. For every one, who, in any Age or Nation whatever, has been endowed with the heavenly Gift of disinterested Charity, may, in the best Sense of the Phrase, be said to have been inspired by the *Holy Ghost*.

But as the comparing the several Religions of different Nations afforded a large Field for Speculation; I have kept myself from expatiating beyond the Bounds of a Work of this kind; in which Brevity is the chief, perhaps the only Excellency, it has to boast. In these Disquisitions, Recourse has been frequently had to the Etymology of Names: Which kind of Proof is so far from deserving to be exploded or slighted, because it has been abused by the Unskilful; that, when fairly and naturally deduced, it is of equal Validity with any other Method of Reasoning; and has ever been received and practised by Men of the soundest Judgments and deepest Penetration.

tion. In the Old Testament, especially, the *Hebrew* Names of Persons and Places are so significant of their several Characters and Circumstances, that the most learned Interpreters are often at a loss, whether they should translate the Word according to it's literal Meaning, or give it the Turn of a proper Name; the latter of which is indeed the easiest, but the former is generally the most instructive. But throughout the following Work, great Care has been taken, in all Researches of this nature, as on the one hand, to avoid such Etymologies as seemed too strain'd or remote; so on the other, to reject that low Common-place kind, which may so easily be made by Persons of very little either Understanding or Learning; such as calling Nations from the Names of their Kings; and, on the contrary, fetching the Names of famous Persons from those of their Countries, without explaining the Etymon of either.

My Design in this Work being to give the Reader a tolerable Knowledge in the
Roman

Roman Affairs, even though he had never read any other Account of them ; I have prefix'd an INTRODUCTION, containing a summary Relation of all that was necessary to be known of the *Roman* State, from it's first Origin, to the Time whence *Herodian's* History commences ; still keeping the same End in view, and endeavouring to say as much as was requisite, in as small a Compass as possible. In this, as well as other Parts of the Work, I have not only consulted most of the ancient Writers, of any Note ; in order to collect a more authentic Account, by comparing them one with another, than could be obtained by following any one Author whatever ; but have also taken care to set down the respective Authors, with the particular Book, Chapter, &c. (especially where the Circumstance was either very important, or much controverted) that I might not be censured for contradicting any received Story or Opinion, without producing my Authority for so doing.

The Reign of *Gordian* seemed not a very proper Period at which to end the *Roman* History. To supply this Deficiency, I have added, by way of APPENDIX, a general Account of the most remarkable Transactions under each of the subsequent Emperors, to the Reign of *Constantine the Great*.

Since no History can be well understood, much less retained, unless the right Time be fix'd to each Incident; Chronology must be allowed to be one of the most material Ingredients in Historical Compositions. But as it is one of the most important, so it is also the most difficult Part of the Work; by reason of the numerous Corruptions and Variations, both accidental and design'd, in all the Writings of Antiquity. To remedy this Inconvenience, as much as I was able, I have not followed any one Calculation whatever; but endeavour'd to come as near the Truth as possible, by comparing the Works of one Author with those of another, and every Author with himself:

And

And have thus, with great Labour and Care, collected a CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE from the best ancient Historians; not without having Recourse to the Poets themselves, who, in some Particulars, have been very helpful.

Tho' in comparing the Religious, and Civil, Customs of the *Romans*, with those of the *Greeks* and *Jews*, I was obliged to insert Quotations from Authors, in their respective Languages; yet, that the *English* Reader might have his Share in those Enquiries, I have not only added the Sound of the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Words, in *English* Letters, where Etymology was the thing in dispute; but have taken care to subjoin the *English* to every Quotation: So that there is nothing throughout the whole Book, in any dead or foreign Language, but what is immediately translated, for the Use of the *English* Reader.

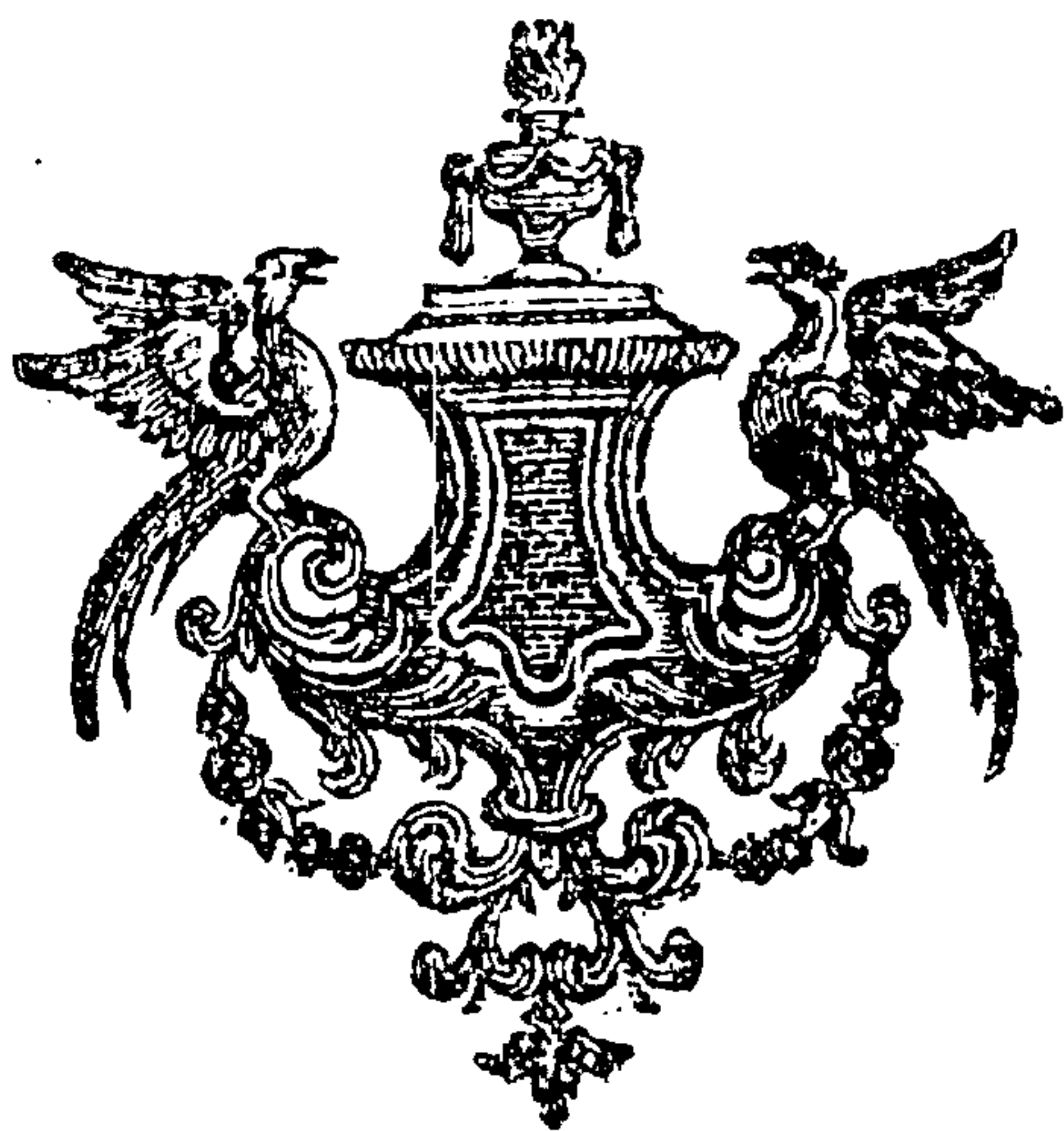
And now I shall only desire of my Reader, that, before he passes Judgment on the following Work entire, or on any particular Passage contained in it, he would

first

first take the pains to examine it with Impartiality, and be certain he is capable of entering into the Meaning of the Author; lest, by giving his Opinion too soon, he be found in the Number of those, who condemn (or perhaps commend) what they do not understand. For it is with Books, as with Persons; they who are most trifling, and capable of giving least Instruction or Benefit by their Conversation, are commonly understood at the first or second Interview; and seldom fail to please for a Time; because the Eye is always most sensibly struck with Beauties which are most superficial and glaring: But wherever there is any instructive Good, or real Worth, it is generally so couch'd as not to be presently seen by a slight external View; but the more we grow acquainted with the Object, the more we are delighted with it's Excellency, and the higher Esteem we have of its intrinsic Merit. Truth loves to unveil herself to the patient, humble, and impartial Mind; but scorns to expose her

Charms

Charms to the vulgar Eyes of traditional Superstition, or the unequal Enquiries of prejudiced Infidelity ; to the narrow Views of Popularity, Pride, or Interest ; the hasty Conclusions of Self-conceit ; the rash Judgment of partial Zeal ; or the shallow Perceptions of Indolence, or Levity.



I N T R O-

INTRODUCTION.

THE Tradition, that generally obtain'd with the *Romans* concerning the Origin of their State, was, that *Æneas* after the Destruction of *Troy*, with a few *Trojans*, who had escap'd the Flames, and the Swords of the Enemy, sail'd into that Part of *Italy*, which is situate on the East-side of the River *Tiber*, and was called *Latium*. *Latinus* the then King of *Latium* gave *Æneas* his Daughter *Lavinia*; and the Aborigines of the Country, in consequence of this Marriage, amicably joining with the *Trojans*, they became powerfull enough to conquer the *Rutuli* with the *Hetrurians* their Allies^a, and secure the Kingdom to *Latinus* and his new Son-in-Law; who reign'd both together over the two Nations, united under the common Name of *Latins*. At the Decease of *Latinus* the Government was confirm'd to *Æneas* alone, whose Son *Ascanius*, after his Father's Death, left *Lavinium* the Capital of *Latium*, and built a City on the Side of a Hill; which he call'd *Long Alba*. Here he and his Posterity reign'd by Succession quite down to *Amulius* the 15th King of the *Latins*^b.

Amulius had forcibly seized on the Kingdom in Violation of the hereditary Right of *Numitor*

^a *Liv. lib. i.*

^b *Liv. Dionys. et Euseb.*

his elder Brother; whose Daughter *Rhea* he made a *Vestal* Priestess, thereby intending to cut off all Possibility of having the Kingdom retaken from him, by any of his Brother's Descendants. But these Measures prov'd ineffectual. For though her sacred Function enjoin'd perpetual Virginity under Pain of being buried alive, yet the young Lady was bold enough to break through the Tie of her Religion, and carry on a secret Amour with some unknown Lover, till she was brought to Bed of two Twins, *Romulus* and *Remus*. The Infants were expos'd on the Banks of the *Tiber*, in a Manner not much unlike the Story of *Moses*; but Providence interposing for their Preservation, they were taken up and educated by *Faustulus* a Shepherd, and his Wife, a common Prostitute, call'd in *Latin*, *Lupa*, which signifies a *She Wolf*; whence some Authors affirm the Children were found and suckled by a Wolf^c. When they came to Age, they kill'd *Amulius*, and restored the Kingdom to *Numitor* their Grand-Father^d. After which the Youths left *Alba* the Royal Seat of *Numitor*, and undertook the building a City on the Banks of the *Tiber*, on the same Spot^e where they had been exposed to Death in their Infancy. But a Quarrel arising between the two Brothers, *Remus* was soon taken off; and *Romulus* the Founder of the new City remain'd its sole King; and call'd it (as is the vulgar Tradition) after his own Name, *Rome*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* intimates more than once, that the Time from

^c *Liv.* lib. i. *Flor.* i. cap. i.

^d *Plutarch.* in *Romulo*.

^e *Id.* *ibid.* et *Liv.* lib. i.

INTRODUCTION.

3

the Taking of *Troy* to the Building the City was 432 Years. This was not far from the Reign of *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*. Before Christ An. 752.

Romulus soon peopled his little City by opening an *Asylum* or Place of Refuge for Renegado's of all Ages and Denominations, who came in great Numbers from every Quarter. Out of this promiscuous Coalition he pick'd 100 of the gravest Elders to compose his Senate, and divided the rest into three *Centuries*, afterwards called *Tribes*^f, that they might be readily summon'd forth on any Emergency. But having but few Women in his City, he invited the neighbouring People with their Wives and Daughters to the Celebration of the *Consualia*, which were sacred Games in honour of *Consus*, the God of Counsel, whom the later *Romans* will have to be *Nep-tune*^g; and in the midst of the Festival ordered the young Men of *Rome* to rush out upon the Girls, and seize every one his Wife^h: Upon which a War ensuing, he slew the King of the *Cemineses* in the Field; spoil'd him of his Armour, and dedicated it to *Jupiter Feretrius*, at the same time marking out the Bounds of a Temple to that Deity on the Capitoline Hill. To this Vow of *Romulus*, the first of that kind made at *Rome*, the most magnificent Temple of *Jupiter*, commonly call'd the Capitol, ow'd its first Originⁱ. For all these Atchievements, the *Romans* after his Death (the Manner of which is unknown) worship'd him as a God under the Name of *Quirinus*: And as *Aeneas* was supposed

^f Liv. lib. i. Alex. ab Alex. lib. i. cap. v.
lib. i. Dionys. Hal. lib. ii. Plutarc. in Romulo.
the Note on the Mother of the Gods. Book I.
lib. i. et lib. iv.

^g Liv.
^h See
ⁱ Liv.

the Son of *Venus*, they would have *Mars* to be the Father of *Romulus*, that by this excellent Device all the Beauties of Peace and Glories of War might seem to unite in adorning that State, which derived its Source from the *Goddeſs of Love* and the *God of Battles*, the two great Principles of Nature and Springs of Action. This ingenious Fiction was undoubtedly introduced in the firſt Ages of the *Roman* State. For tho' we find no expreſs Mention of *Venus* in any Liſt of Deities in the Times of their Kings; yet it is more than probable, ſhe was worſhipped by the primitive *Romans* under ſome other Name. For April, the ſecond Month of the Year, as divided by *Romulus* into 10 Months, was in the Time of their Commonwealth dedicated to *Venus*, not only becauſe it immediately followed March, the Month ſacred to *Mars*; but from a Suppoſition that the very Title of the Month alluded to *Αφροδίτη*, *Aphrodite*, the *Greek* Name of the Goddeſs^k.

Numa.

Before
Chriſt

An. 713.

Numa Pompilius, a *Sabine*, the ſecond King of *Rome*, appointed the Ceremonies of Divine Service, ſettled the Rites of Divination, conſtituted the ſeveral Orders of Priests and Divines; and in a long peaceful Reign of 43 Years^l did nothing but calculate Times, build Churches, compoſe Liturgies, and found an Eccleſiaſtical Polity for the Eſtabliſhment of the Religion of the State by Law; the Principles of which he pretended to receive by Inſpiration from the Goddeſs *Egeria*.

Tullus Ho-

ſtilius. An.
671.

He was ſucceeded by *Tullus Hoſtilius* a Prince of a Martial Spirit; during whoſe Reign the

^k *Ovid. Faſt.* lib. iv.

^l *Plutarch.* in *Numa*.

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Romans were perpetually at War with their Neighbours. In a Battle with the *Veientes* and the *Fidenates* their Allies, *Metius Suffetius* King of the *Albans*, then in Alliance with *Rome*, commanded the Right Wing against the *Fidenates*, and *Tullus* with his *Romans* in the Left engaged the *Veientes*. While *Tullus* was in the Heat of Action, *Metius*, instead of charging the Foe, drew off his *Albans*, with a Design to join that Party which should prove strongest. By this unexpected Desertion the *Romans* were left uncover'd, and expos'd to the whole Fury of the Battle. But the *Roman* King, being inform'd of what was done, cries out with a loud Voice, that it was by his Order *Metius* had wheeled about with his Corps to surround the Enemy and attack them in the Rear. This Artifice of *Tullus* not only re-animated his own Soldiers, but so intimidated the Enemy, that the *Romans* gain'd a complete Victory. When the Battle was over, *Tullus* order'd *Metius* to be tied to two Chariots, the Horses of which, being driven opposite ways, tore him to Pieces, as a suitable Punishment for his Double-Dealing. This done, *Roman* Soldiers were dispatch'd to demolish *Alba*, the Royal Seat of their Forefathers, and translate all the Wealth and Inhabitants to *Rome*: Where the two Kindred Nations were rejoin'd, and became one People^m.

Before
Christ.
An. 665.

Tullus being kill'd with a Thunder-bolt, *An-* *Ancus*
cus Martius, *Numa's* Grandson, was chosen his *Martius*.
Successor. He was chiefly employ'd during his *An. 638.*
whole Reign in Fortifying the City, and making it more large, commodious, and beautiful, by

^m *Flor. lib. i. cap. iii.*

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the Addition of many useful and magnificent Buildings.

Tarquinius Priscus.
Before
Christ
An. 614.

After his Death, which was natural, the hereditary Claim of his Sons was superseded; and the Crown given to *Tarquinius Priscus*, a *Corinthian*; who augmented the Number, and rais'd the Dignity of the Senate. He introduced the Badges and Ornaments of the Magistrates, such as Rods, Robes of State, Gold-Rings, embroider'd Gowns, gilded Chariots for Triumphs, and all the pompous Ensigns of Authorityⁿ. He was the first that entred the City in Triumph^o, for a Victory gain'd over the *Sabines*, which Custom continued about 850 Years, till the Reign of the Emperor *Probus*, who is said to be the last of the *Roman* Generals, honour'd with a Triumph^p. The Temple of *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*, or Citadel of *Rome*, was founded by this Prince: But he did not live to finish it, being kill'd by the Sons of *Ancus Martius* his Predecessor.

Servius Tullius.
An. 576.
Census.

Servius Tullius, born a Slave^q, was the sixth King of *Rome*. He it was that instituted the *Census*; by which is meant a Muster or Survey of all the Citizens, together with the Valuation of their particular Estates. This was afterwards perform'd every five Years by Officers appointed for that Purpose and call'd *Censors*; who besides were impower'd to inspect into the moral Conduct of the Nobility, Gentry, and others, and at the End of five Years to make a solemn Attonement for the People by Sacrifice, which was call'd *Lustration*, or *Burying* the *Lustrum*. In this King's Reign the Number of Citizens

Condere Lustrum.

ⁿ *Flor.* lib. i. cap. v.
^{ab} *Alex.* lib. vi. cap. 6.

^o *Europ.* lib. i.
^q *Flor.* lib. i. cap. vi. *Liv.* lib. i.

^p *Alex.*
taken

taken at the *Census* was, inclusive of Country-Men, 84,000. He likewise improved upon *Romulus's* Plan, and divided the City into four Tribes, which were afterwards increas'd to 35^r. The Ranks or Orders of the Knights, Gentry, and others, he call'd *Classes*^r. These were again subdivided into *Centuries*, in so nice and regular a Manner, that their several Estates, Dignities, Ages, and Professions might be known by inspecting the public Records. The whole was so conducted that the Rich had the Care and Patronage of a certain Number of Poor, proportion'd to the Rate of their respective Estates. These poor Dependants were call'd Clients, and the Ties between them and their Patrons became so sacred among the *Romans*, that it was deem'd by their Laws a Capital Crime for a Patron to deceive or injure his Client, whom he was to reckon nearer to him than any Relation, except his Children^t. *Servius* was at last kill'd by *Tar-* *Tarquini-*
quin, his Successor, and Son-in-Law by marry- *us Super-*
ing his Daughter *Tullia*; who was likewise ac- *bus.*
cessary to the Murther of her Father. *Before*
Christ

The last King of the *Romans* was *Tarquin*, sur- 532.
nam'd *The Proud*. He finish'd the *Capitol*, and was very successful in his Wars with the neighbouring Nations. But his haughty Behaviour and Tyrannous Abuse of Power rendred him so odious to his Subjects, that he was at last de-thron'd and expell'd the City on account of a

^r *Cicero* in *Verr.* i. et *Asconius* ad locum. *Cic.* De lege Agrar. ii & *Philip.* vi. *Liv.* lib. i. xxix. & xlv *Val. Max.* lib. ii. cap. iv. *Appian.* Bell. Civ. lib. i. *Pomp. Fest.* lib. iii.

^t *Liv.* lib. i. *Flor.* lib. i. cap. vi. ^r *A. Gell.* lib v. c. xiii. *Servius* ad *Aen.* vi. Vers. 609.

Rape committed by one of his Sons on *Lucretia* a Roman Lady. The Story is as follows.

Lucretia's
Story.

Tarquin had invested *Ardea* a Town of the *Rutuli*, about 18 Miles from *Rome*. His three Sons *Titus*, *Aruns*, and *Sextus*, were with him in the Army. As this was a long Siege, Leave of Absence was frequently given to the Officers of Distinction, to go to *Rome* about their private Affairs. It happen'd that *Sextus Tarquin*, the King's youngest Son, made an Entertainment one Evening at his Tent, before the Town, for his Brothers and the other Princes of the Blood; among whom were *Brutus*, Son of *Tarquinius*, the King's Sister, and *Collatine Tarquin*, Nephew to the King; for it is the general Opinion, that the King's Father and *Collatine's* were Brothers^v. After Supper the Royal Youths, being merry with Drinking, among other Topics of Discourse, began a Dispute, which of the Company had the best Wife. *Collatine* propos'd, as the surest way of Trial, to mount their Horses immediately, and by coming upon each of their Wives unawares, see, which of them was employ'd in a Manner most becoming the Marriage-State. The Proposal pleas'd; and the whole Company rode away immediately, first to *Rome*, where they found the other Ladies engaged either with ceremonious Visitors, or in idle Diversions. From thence they proceeded to *Collatine's* House at *Collatia*, about five or six Miles from the City, and entering abruptly, found *Lucretia* sitting at Work among her Maids, and directing each in her Duty, with all the Dignity of a sober, chaste, and frugal Matron. The

^v *Liv.* lib. i. *Europ* lib. i.

Dispute was soon decided in Favour of *Lucretia*; and *Collatine* was unanimously allow'd to have the best Wife. But *Sextus*, being smitten with the Beauty and sweet Behaviour of *Lucretia*, from that Moment conceiv'd a Design of attacking her Virtue. Accordingly a few Days after he returns to *Collatia* in the Evening, with only one Attendant, and goes to *Lucretia's* House, as on a friendly Visit. The Lady, without the least Suspicion of Evil, receiv'd him very courteously, and entertain'd him in a Manner suitable to his Character. After Supper he was conducted to a beautiful Apartment, where he was to lie; because he had intimated he should not return to the Camp till the next Day. At the dead of Night, when all the Family was asleep, he breaks into *Lucretia's* Chamber, and standing by her Bed-side with his Sword drawn, whispers to her, that he was *Sextus Tarquin*, and that if she made the least Noise he would immediately stab her. He then proceeds to use all possible Means to bring her over to his Purpose, sometimes threatening, sometimes promising, and sometimes intreating. But the Lady continuing inflexibly virtuous, he told her at last, that if she persisted in her Obstinacy, he would not only kill her, but cut the Throat of one of the Men-Servants, and put him into her Bed, and tell her Husband that he caught his Wife in the Act of Adultery with his Slave, and that, being jealous for the Honour of his Family, he had in his Anger kill'd them both. Of all the Passions of the Soul the Power of Pride is most extensive. By this, as by a Spring, the several Movements of the human Mind are actuated and directed. It is to this Principle we

are

are beholden for most of that Valour and Virtue the World so much admires ; since the most famous Heroes and Heroines of all Ages, acting from this Motive, have dreaded a Wound in their Character, more than the Loss of their Innocence, and have therefore taken the utmost Care not so much to avoid the Guilt of being culpable, as the Shame of appearing so. This was sufficiently verified in *Lucretia*, that celebrated Example of conjugal Faith and Chastity. She who had been deaf to Prayers and Intreaties, had rejected all offer'd Rewards, and had remain'd intrepidly firm against the Threats of Death itself, was conquer'd by the Fear of Disgrace ; and chusing rather to yield up her Honour, than have it falsely impeach'd, she endured Adultery to save herself from the Scandal of an *Adulteress*. *Tarquin*, having gain'd his Ends, return'd to the Camp. But *Lucretia* dispatches Letters immediately to her Father *Spurius Lucretius*, and to her Husband ; who came accompanied, the former by *Publius Valerius*, the latter by *Brutus*. As soon as they entered the House, the Lady, with a dejected Look and a melancholy Voice, related the Story of her Wrong ; and having recommended to them to revenge the Indignity, stabb'd herself with a Knife conceal'd for that Purpose under her Cloaths. Her dead Body was by *Brutus's* Direction carried out and expos'd to public View ; and, the more to inflame the Minds of the People against the Family of the *Tarquins*, the Story was told with such exaggerating Circumstances, first at *Collatia*, then at *Rome*, and lastly to the Army before *Ardea*, that it prov'd the Occasion of abolishing Kingly Power at *Rome*, and altering the

Con-

Constitution of the *Romans*, after they had been ruled by seven Kings for the Space of 244 Years ^x.

Upon the Expulsion of *Tarquin* and his Sons, the supreme Power was lodged in the Hands of two *Consuls*, who were to be elected by the People, and their Government to last no longer than one Year; that the Shortness of their Power (says *Sallust* ^y) might not permit them to grow insolent. *Brutus*, and *Collatine*, *Lucretia's* Husband, who had been most active in driving out the King and his Family, were chosen the two first Consuls of *Rome*: But *Collatine* was oblig'd to relinquish his new Dignity on account of his near Relation to *Tarquin*; who was so odious to the *Romans*, that they could not endure, that one of his Family and Name should remain in the City. *Valerius Poplicola* was substituted in his Room; who ceded the Power of Life and Death to the People ^z, by granting them the Privilege of an Appeal from the Consuls in criminal Matters; and put in Execution every popular Measure, that could conduce to make the *Romans* more in Love with the Liberty obtain'd by the late Revolution.

While the two Consuls were thus zealously employ'd in promoting the public Weal, some young Noblemen form'd a secret Conspiracy in order to effect the Restoration of the banish'd King: But the Plot being discover'd, the Conspirators, among whom were the Sons and Nephews of *Brutus*, suffer'd capital Punishment, *Brutus* himself standing by, and ordering the

Consuls.
Before
Christ
An. 507.

Brutus
executes
his own
Sons for
Treason.

^x *Liv. et Dionys. Halic.*
lib i. *Flor.* lib. i. cap. ix.

^y *Bell. Cat.*

^z *Liv.*

Dictator
created.

Execution of his own Children ^a. After this, *Tarquin* having applied to the *Veientes* and other neighbouring Cities for Assistance, a Battle ensued; in which *Brutus* kill'd *Aruns*, *Tarquin's* Son, with his own Hand, and being wounded himself, fell down and expired upon him. Several other Alliances were form'd in Favour of the Royal Family. But the *Romans* having created a new Officer, called a *Dictator*, and invested him with discretionary Power, to last no longer than six Months ^b, they successfully defended their Liberties; and *Tarquin* was at last oblig'd to retire, and give up all Hopes of ever recovering his Kingdom.

Before
Christ
An. 492.

Tribunes
of the
Commons

But not long after, the Nobility of *Rome* assuming too much, on the Merits of their Ancestors, and foolishly claiming a Right to oppress the State, because their Fathers had done it Service, the Commons made a Defection; nor could be reconciled, till they had obtain'd the Privilege of creating two new Magistrates to defend their Liberties ^c from the Pride and Encroachments of the Nobility. These Magistrates were called *Tribunes of the Commons*, and were vested with Power, in many Respects superior to that of the Consuls. Their Number was afterward increased to ten; and their Authority held so sacred, that they were call'd *Sacrosancti*: For, tho' they had a Right to punish ^d Delinquents of every Office and Quality (the Dictator only excepted) themselves were accountable to none but the People ^e. Their In-

^a *Liv* lib. i. *Virg. Aen.* vi. vers. 817. &c.

lib. i. *Plutarch.* in *Camillo*.

lib. vi.

^d *A. Gellius*, lib. xiii. cap. xii.

Tib. Gracch.

^b *Liv*.

^c *Liv*. lib. ii. *Dionys. Hal.*

^e *Plutar.* in

stitution was certainly very salutary to the Republic; and tho' some Tribunes carried their Power beyond due Bounds, yet they may justly be call'd the Bulwarks of the *Roman* Liberty. For by their Means the People afterwards obtain'd, that one Consul at least should always be chosen out of the Commons; and that no Laws should be enacted, tending to enslave or impoverish the People^f. For the Tribunes had the Privilege of a Negative Voice; and might, if they thought proper, hinder any Law from passing^g by standing up and pronouncing the Word *Veto, I forbid*.

Hitherto the *Romans* had been govern'd by Before Custom and the Authority of the Chief Magi-Christ
strates without any Body of written Laws. But⁴⁵¹. it was now thought requisite to fix the Balance between the several Orders of the Community, by standing Laws in Writing. To this end Delegates were dispatch'd to *Athens* to collect a System of Laws from that wise and learned Laws of People. At their Return the Consular Power the XII was discontinued, and Ten new Magistrates Tables were created under the Title of *Decemviri*. These regulated the Laws brought from *Athens*, and had them written on Ten Tables of Brass, to which were added Two more the next Year: And these Twelve Tables contain'd the whole Body of the *Roman* Laws, at that Time, relating to Religion, Polity, and private Property. The Rule of the *Decemviri* however was but of short Duration. For one of them, *Appius Claudius*, designing to deflower the Daughter of *Virginus* an Officer in the Army, employ'd one

^f *Liv.* lib xxvii. et xxxix. ^g Vide *Tacit.* Annal. 16. cap. 26.

of his Creatures to lay Claim to her, as to his Slave; and to prosecute his pretended Right by Law. This was accordingly put in Execution, and the Cause brought for a Hearing before *Appius*, who soon gave Judgment in Favour of the Claimant. But the Father of the Virgin stabb'd her with his own Hand, to free her from the Dishonour designed her by the Decemvir; and with the Assistance of *Icilius*, to whom he had betrothed her, rais'd a Sedition in the Army, which ended in the Abolition of the Decemviral Power, the third Year after it's Institution ^h.

What *Sallust* ⁱ observes of the *Athenians*, that their Affairs are celebrated as miraculous thro' the whole World, only in Proportion to the Number and Genius of their Writers, who extoll'd them, may with equal Justice be applied to other Nations. The *Roman* Historians relate many pompous Stories of the Transactions of their Ancestors both before and after the Abolition of Kingly Power, and extoll the personal Valour of particular Citizens even to the Height of poetic Fiction. But notwithstanding all those ostentatious Traditions, supported by frequent Miracles and Prodigies, there is very little in the *Roman* History worth relating, till the first *Punic* or *Carthaginian* War, if we except the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls* in the Year of the City 365. *Fabius* the Consul had oppos'd their Progress, but receiv'd a complete Overthrow with all his Army at the River *Allia*, about eleven Miles from *Rome*. This Battle was fought on the 18th of July ^k, which was afterwards mark'd as

Rome
burnt.
Before
Christ
An. 387.

^h Consule sis *Liv.* lib. iii. et *Dionys. Hal.* lib. ii. ⁱ Bell. Cat. ^k Vid. *Liv.* lib. vi. post principium, et *Tacit.* Annal. xv. c. xli.

a black unlucky Day in the *Roman* Calendar. The Battle ended, the Gauls advanced to *Rome*; which they entred the next Day, put to Death all they met, and laid the City in Ashes. About 1000 of the Youth had retired into the *Capitol*, under the Command of *Manlius*; where they sustain'd a Siege of six Months, nor could the *Gauls* in all that Time take the Citadel, either by Storm or Surprise. One Night indeed they almost effected the latter; but the Watch being alarm'd by the Cackling of some Geese, *Manlius* repelled the Enemy, and sav'd the *Capitol*; upon which account Geese were afterwards reckon'd sacred Animals and maintain'd, together with Dogs, at the public Expence, for a Guard to that Temple¹. The *Romans* at last stipulated with the *Gauls*, that the latter should depart on the Payment of 1000 *lb.* Weight of Gold; but by the Intervention of *Camillus*, whom the *Romans* had before banished, and now recalled from his Exile in *Ardea*, the Bargain was null'd, and the *Gauls* driven from *Rome* with great Slaughter.

The *Gauls* being dispers'd, the *Romans* rebuilt their City, making magnificent and stately Houses, where only Cottages had stood before; so that *Rome* rose with augmented Glory, like a Phoenix, from her own Ashes. After continual Fights and Skirmishes with their Neighbours, the *Romans*, under *Dolabella*, gave the *Gauls* a final Overthrow, took their City *Sena*, and made it a *Roman* Colony; and then stretch'd their Conquests in *Italy*, as far as *Tarentum*; the

¹ *Cicero. pro Sext. Roscio.*

Before
Christ
281.

Inhabitants of which, aided by *Pyrrhus*^m King of *Epirus*, a Country on the *Ionian* Sea, South of *Macedonia*, held them in War almost four Yearsⁿ, but were at last entirely defeated; and the *Romans* remain'd Masters of *Italy*. Elate with this first Conquest of a Foreign Enemy, and not content with their present Dominions, they resolv'd to augment them by the Addition of *Sicily*. That Island was at the same Time claim'd by the *Carthaginians*, whence arose the first *Punic* War, in which for the first four Years the Success was various. But in the fifth Year the *Romans* gain'd their first Victory by Sea. For having built in ten Weeks Time 160 Vessels^o, and given their Command to *Duillius* the Consul, they beat the *Carthaginians* in a Sea-Engagement, and then carried the War into *Africa*: Where they at first met with some Success; but were afterwards overcome by the *Carthaginians*, whom they beat again at *Sicily*, and wrested the Island out of their Hands.

First *Punic*
War.
An. 264.

An. 241.

A Peace was made with the *Carthaginians*; and the *Romans* shut the double Gates of *Janus's* Temple^p. But soon after, the second *Punic* War broke out, 534 Years^q from the Building of the City. *Hannibal* had subdued all *Spain* within the River *Iberus*, and taken and sack'd the Town *Saguntum*, then in Alliance with *Rome*. This the *Romans* resenting, declared War against the *Carthaginians*, as Violators of the Treaty. Upon which *Hannibal*, having pass'd the *Pyrenean*

Second
Punic
War. An.
218.

^m Vide *Plutarc.* in *Pyrrho.* *Pausani.* lib. i. *Paul. Oros.* lib. iv. cap. i. *Epitom.* ad *Liv.* lib. xii, xiii, xiv. ⁿ *Flor.* lib. i. cap. xix. ^o *Idem* lib. ii. cap. ii. ^p *Vell. Pater.* lib. ii. cap. xxxviii. *Orosius* lib. iv. cap. x. ^q Vide *Polybi.* lib. iii. et vi.

Mountains, and the *Alps*, penetrated into *Italy*, and beat the *Romans* in three successive Battles. After some little Stop put to the Progress of the *Carthaginians* by the slow and prudent Measures of *Quintus Fabius* the Consul, another important Battle was fought at *Cannæ*, a little Village of *Apulia*; where were slain ^{Before} of the *Romans* ^{Christ,} ^{An. 214.} 40,000 Foot, 2,700 Horse, with an equal Number of Allies and Citizens; among these were one of the Consuls, two Quæstors, twenty-one Military Tribunes, and eighty of the Senatorian Dignity; 3,000 Foot and 300 Horse were taken Prisoners: And had *Hannibal* after this great Victory proceeded immediately to the City, *Rome* must have fallen under the *Carthaginian* Power. But Fate had decreed, that the *Romans* should be Lords of that Part of the World; which was effected not so much by their own Valour, as thro' the iniquitous Administration of *Hanno*, Head of a Faction at *Carthage*, and *Hannibal's* bitter Enemy; who by Corruption and Venality in the Senate undid all, that the greatest General in the World had achiev'd in the Field. Supplies of Men and Money were either denied, or sent too late to be of any Service; his Progresses were impeded by Counter-Orders; and his Counsels either corrupted, or betray'd to the Enemy. The *Romans*, having conquered *Hannibal's* Brothers, and retaken the principal Towns in *Spain* under the Jurisdiction of the *Carthaginians*, made a Diversion into *Africa*; where *Scipio*, assisted by *Masiniſſa*, King of *Numidia*, gain'd several important Victories, and at last overthrew *Hannibal* in a decisive Battle. *Carthage* was oblig'd ^{An. 199.}

^r *Liv. lib. 22.*

to sue to *Rome* for a Peace, and accept it on such Terms, as it pleas'd her Rival to impose, being reduc'd to this Necessity by the Envy of *Hannibal's* Glory^f. This important Conquest gained over a formidable Enemy, that had terrified, weaken'd, and distress'd them in a second War of nineteen Years, so sensibly affected the Senate with Joy, that *Scipio* for the Atchievement was honoured with the Title of *Africanus*; which was the first Instance^t of a Custom, that obtain'd ever after among the *Romans*, of calling their Generals and Emperors by honorary Appellations relative to the several Countries they had conquered.

First Ma- cedonic War. Before Christ. An. 198. The *Romans* had been reduced to the last Distress by *Hannibal*, who by beating them taught them to conquer, 'till they rose from their Calamities into Glory and Power. The *Athenians*, being oppressed by *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*, implored the Assistance of the *Romans*; who defeated the King, and restored to the *Greeks* their Liberty. But *Perses*, *Philip's* Son, the last King of the *Macedonians*, about 150 Years after *Alexander* the Great, renewing the Quarrel, the *Romans* gave him a total Overthrow. Second Macedonic War, An. 169. *Hannibal* had fled to *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*; which was sufficient to give the Senate of *Rome* a new Alarm. For tho' *Antiochus* was a weak effeminate Prince, incapable of any martial Enterprize, yet as *Hannibal* was with him, he was reckon'd formidable; the very Name of the *Carthaginian* being more terrible to *Rome* than the Sight of whole Armies of Enemies. However *Antiochus* never trusted *Hannibal* with any

^f *Corn. Nep. in vita Hannib. Justin. lib. 38. cap. 4.*

^t *Liv. lib. 30. ad finem.*

Thing above the Command of a few Ships, which were sunk and dispers'd by the Enemy; and *Hannibal* oblig'd to fly to *Prusias*, King of *Bitbunia*, where he poison'd himself^v. For the *Romans* had sent to demand him, as thinking themselves in perpetual Danger, while that great General surviv'd, tho' without an Army, who had once advanced to within three Miles of their City.

Macedonia soon after became a Province to *Rome*. *Carthage* again renew'd the War; but after four Years that City, the most formidable Rival of the *Roman* Greatness, was utterly demolish'd; and *Rome*, now freed from the greatest and longest Terror she ever suffer'd, stretch'd her Conquest over *Greece* and *Spain*; and then carried her Arms again into *Asia*.

After the Overthrow of *Aristonicus*, King of *Pergamus*, *Jugurtha*, King of *Numidia*, kept the *Romans* in War for several Years, prevailing not so much by Arms as Money^x. For with rich Presents, seasonably applied, he corrupted the Senate, bribed the Generals, and protracted the War, 'till it grew a serious Affair, and *Jugurtha* began to be formidable. *Metellus* was the first that effectually weaken'd his Power; but *Marius*, having obtain'd the Province of *Numidia*, put an End to the long inglorious War: For after a bloody Battle fought near *Cirtba*, in which the *Romans* came off with some little Advantage; *Jugurtha* was treacherously betray'd by *Bocchus*, King of the *Moors*, his Ally^y, and delivered up to *Sylla*, *Marius's* Legate. *Sylla*

^v *Cor. Nep. in vita Hann. Aurel. Victor. in Han.*

^x *Sallust. Bell. Jug.* ^y *Idem ibid.*

Before
Christ,
An. 105. carried him to *Marius*, who return'd to *Rome* in Triumph, with *Jugurtha* his Captive, bound in Chains, to grace the Procession.

An. 86. After this *Rome* was miserably wasted with Civil War; which fill'd her Streets and Fields with the Carcases of her own Citizens and Allies: *Sylla*, *Cinna* and *Marius* were the Heads of the contending Factions: Each conquer'd and tyranniz'd in his Turn. *Sylla* was at last victorious; but the Calamities still existed, when the War was no more. The insulting Victor let loose his Vengeance on all that had espous'd the Cause of *Marius*, and revell'd in the Blood of Thousands of his Fellow-Citizens.

Cataline's
Conspira-
cy,
An. 61. Soon after followed *Cataline's* Conspiracy; which was detected by the Vigilance and Cunning of *Cicero*, then Consul. The Chief of the Conspirators were executed in the City; and the other Consul was sent against *Cataline* and his Rebel Forces. This Action was sharp and bloody: *Cataline* was kill'd in the Field, and his whole Army cut to Pieces^a.

An. 83. During all these Civil Commotions at Home, an important War was carried on in the East, against *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*. That powerful Prince maintain'd a dubious Contest with the *Romans* for thirty Years^b, and was three Times beaten^c before he could be quite subdued. The first Defeat of his Forces he received from *Sylla*; *Lucullus* gave him his second Overthrow: But his final Ruin was completed by *Pompey*; who with *Cæsar* and *Crassus*, had then the Management of all the *Roman* Affairs.

^a *Sallust. Bell. Cat.* ^b *Paul. Oros. lib. 6. ad finem.*
Florus habet 40. sed falso. ^c *Vide Juven. Sat. 6. Vers.*
ult.

Pompey overthrew the *Colchians*; struck Terror into all the Nations round about; and in his Return penetrated into *Syria* and *Judea*. He entered *Damascus* and *Jerusalem*, received Homage from the *Jews*^d, and extended the Power of *Rome* over great Part of *Asia*. *Gaul* was reduced by *Julius Cæsar* in a Series of Battles for nine successive Campaigns^e, in which he slew (if *Pliny* may be credited) 1,192,000 Enemies. But the *Parthians* gave the *Romans* a shameful Defeat under the Command of *Crassus*; who was kill'd^f, and his Army entirely cut to Pieces, except a few that saved themselves by Flight into *Armenia*, *Cilicia*, and *Syria*^g.

And now a worse Civil War broke out between *Cæsar* and his Son-in-law *Pompey*, which spread thro' all the Parts of the World within either the Dominion or Friendship of the *Romans*. After several Defeats and Successes of *Pompey* and his Party, the signal Stroke was given near *Philippi*, in *Thessaly*; where upwards of 300,000 Men^h being engag'd, Fortune, after a bloody Dispute, declared for *Cæsar*. *Pompey*, with a few Followers, fled to *Pelusium* in *Egypt*; where he was treacherously murdered in the Sight of his Wife and Friendsⁱ by Order of *Ptolemy* the young King, who happen'd to be there carrying on a War against his Sister *Cleopatra*, whom he had a few Months before expelled her Kingdom^k. His Death was not long unrevenged; for a War ensuing between

^d *Flor.* l. 3. c. 5. *Aurel. Victor.* in *Pomp.* lib. 2. c. 47. *Sueton.* in *Jul. Cæs.* c. 25. ^e *Paterc.* l. 2. c. 46. *Plutarch* in *Crass.* *Flor.* lib. 3. c. 11. ^f *Vell. Pat.* ibid. ^g *Idem* lib. 4. c. 2. ^h *Idem* lib. 4. c. 2. ⁱ *Lucan.* *Plutar.* *Appian.* & *Aurel. Victor.* ^k *Cæsar* de Bell. Civil. lib. 3.

Cæsar and *Ptolemy*, after several adverse and prosperous Engagements, the perfidious King was vanquish'd in a decisive Battle; from whence endeavouring to escape by Water he was drown'd, and the Kingdom of *Egypt* divided by *Cæsar*, between *Ptolemy's* younger Brother, and his Sister *Cleopatra* ¹.

Before
Christ
An. 43.

During these Transactions, *Scipio* and *Cato*, in Alliance with *Juba*, King of *Mauritania*, renew'd the War in *Africa*: But *Cæsar* was still victorious. *Juba* and *Scipio* were routed: The latter killed himself in his Flight; and *Cato*, who was then at *Utica*, upon hearing the fatal News, followed his Example. The last Scene of Action was at *Munda*, a Town in *Spain*, where *Cæsar* experienced a sharp and dubious Conflict; in which he was sunk almost to Desperation. For his hardy Veterans retiring before *Pompey's* Sons, he gave up all for lost, and was going to dispatch himself with his own Weapon ^m; but by a sudden unaccountable Return of Spirits, assuming Courage from Despair, he leaps from his Horse ⁿ, rushes into the thickest of the Foe, and by his own Example reanimates his flying Troops, who immediately rallied, and at last utterly routed the Enemy.

After this great Victory he returned to *Rome*, where he followed *Sylla's* Example, and made himself *Perpetual Dictator*; than which nothing could be more incompatible with the Constitution of the *Romans*, who never chose a Dictator, but upon some sudden Emergency; and always obliged him to abdicate his Office, as soon as

¹ *Hirt. Bell. Alex.*
lib. 2. c. 55.

^m *Flor. lib. 4. cap. 2.*

ⁿ *Paterc.*

the Situation of Affairs no longer required a Commander invested with such absolute Power. *Brutus* and *Cassius*, at the Head of a Conspiracy, made a bold Struggle for the Recovery of their Country's Freedom, by stabbing *Cæsar* in the Senate-House. But their ill-timed Zeal was thrown away upon a degenerate Race of Vassals, who were unwilling, and therefore unworthy to be free. Slavery to such Spirits was absolutely necessary; and this Attempt was made by the mistaken *Brutus* in an improper Age, and among *Romans*, who in nothing but the Name resembled those, who lived 465 Years before; when very different Success attended the like heroic Patriotism of the former *Brutus*, his Ancestor, in the Abrogation of Regal Power. The Senate indeed after *Cæsar*'s Death abolished the Custom of making a Dictator^o; but *Rome* never after recovered her Liberty.

For *Mark Anthony* being look'd on as an Enemy by the Senate for his turbulent, factious and insolent Behaviour, tho' *Cicero* could not persuade them to judge him a Rebel in Form^p, *Octavius*, *Cæsar*'s Heir and Son by Adoption, was sent as Proprætor with the two Consuls, *Pansa* and *Hirtius*, at the Head of a powerful Army, to reduce him to Obedience. *Anthony* was at length put to Flight; but one of the Consuls being slain in the Battle, and the other dying soon after, the Command of the Army remained in the Hands of *Octavius Cæsar*; who was made Consul when he was but 20 Years old^q; though the ordinary Custom required the

Cæsar
stabbed.
before
Christ
An. 42.

An. 41.

^o *Cicero Philip. I. Dio lib. 36.*
ult. ^q *Vell. Pat. lib. 2. c. 65.*

^p Vide *Cicer. Philip.*

24 INTRODUCTION.

Age of the Candidates for that Office to be 42 Years^r. Through the Mediation of *Lepidus*, *Octavius* was reconciled to *Anthony*; and these three composed a Triumvirate fatal to the Liberty of *Rome*, and the Lives of her principal Citizens. For each Triumvir made a Point of sacrificing his nearest Relations in Complaisance to his Collegues^s. *Cicero* was in the Number of the Proscrib'd, and was murdered in the 64th Year of his Age^t; his Head and right Hand^u were cut off and stuck up to public View on the Rostrum, by *Anthony's* Order, as a Revenge for those poignant Speeches made against him by the incomparable Orator. *Octavius* and *Anthony* march'd their Forces into *Macedonia* against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, to revenge the Death of *Cæsar*; a Place of the same Name^x, but not the same Place, where *Pompey* had been ruin'd (as *Florus* erroneously asserts) was the Scene of Action. And tho' neither *Anthony* nor *Octavius* was in the Battle themselves^y, yet their Parties remain'd Masters of the Field. For the Wing where *Cassius* commanded being put into Disorder, he commanded one of his Officers to kill him, through a mistaken Opinion that *Brutus* likewise was worsted. His Death so dispirited the whole Army, that the Advantage *Brutus* had gain'd was in a few Days^z overthrown; their Forces were routed, and *Brutus*, imitating the Example of *Cassius*, died by the Hands of one of his Attendants.

Cicero put
to Death

Brutus
and
Cassius
over-
thrown.

After this, *Sextus Pompeius*, one of *Pompey's* Sons, who had escaped from the Battle at *Munda*,

Sextus
Pompeius.

^r *Cicero. Philip. V.* ^s *Paterc. l. 2. c. 67.* ^t *Liv. & Euseb.* ^u *Dio 47.* ^x *Vide Riguez ad Paterc. lib. 2. c. 70.* ^y *Flor. lib 4. c. 7,* ^z *Vall. Pat. lib. 2. c. 70.*

had

had several Engagements, with various Success, both by Sea and Land, with *Octavius* and his Party; but was at last vanquished in a Sea-fight, and obliged to fly with two or three Ships into *Asia*, and was afterwards murdered at *Miletum*^a. *Anthony*, who had obtained the Province of *Asia*, received a total Overthrow from the *Parthians*. From thence he fled into *Egypt*; and having divorced *Octavius Cæsar's* Sister, his former Wife, married *Cleopatra*, as if he designed to reign as King of *Egypt*. But *Octavius* resenting the Affront, overcame *Anthony* in a Sea-fight at *Actium*; whence he fled back to *Egypt*, where he and *Cleopatra* died by their own Hands; and *Egypt* became a Province to the *Romans*.

Octavius now remained sole Lord of *Rome* and her Dominions, which he governed under the Title of *Prince*^b. For he had before so crushed *Lepidus* and his Faction in *Sicily*, that he obliged him to resign his Share of the Government, and be contented with Leave to live^c. He greatly enlarged the *Roman* Dominions, and shut the brazen Gates on each Side the Temple of *Janus*; which was the Sign of the *Romans* enjoying universal Peace, and had never been done but once before, since the Reign of *Numa*, who built that Temple^d. Of all the Titles given him by the Senate, that of *Augustus* was thought the most sacred; a Name adopted afterwards by all the succeeding Em-

^a *Strabo*. Geogr. lib. iii. ^b *Tacit.* Annal. lib. i. post principium. ^c *Paterc.* lib. ii. cap. 80. *Sueton.* in *August.* cap 16. *Epitome ad Liv.* 129. ^d Vid. *Varro* de ling. *Latin.* lib. iv. *Plut.* de Fort. *Roman.* Flor. lib. iv. ad finem.

perors. He died at *Nola* in the forty-fourth Year of his Reign, which took its Commencement from the Sea-fight at *Actium* mentioned above.

Tiberius, *Tiberius*, his Son by Adoption, and Successor (in whose Time our Saviour was crucified) did not perform many great Actions, when he was Emperor; though before his Accession to that Dignity, he had often signalized both his Conduct and Courage^a. At the Beginning of his Reign he behaved with great Moderation and Equity: But afterwards leaving the City he retired into *Capreæ*, a little Island near *Campania*, where he indulged his most monstrous Lusts, and perpetrated every kind of Cruelty. His Custom was to invite to his Court the Kings of such Nations, as he suspected of Disaffection; and when he had them in his Power, never to let them return to their Kingdoms^b. Among these was the King of *Cappadocia*, whom he detained, and reduced his Kingdom into a *Roman Province*.

Caligula, At his Demise the Imperial Purple was given to *Caligula*, on account of the admirable Virtues of his Father *Germanicus*^c, whom *Augustus* had obliged *Tiberius* to adopt; though *Tiberius* so hated him for his Popularity, that it was commonly thought, he effected his Death by Poison^d. *Caligula* was more like his adoptive Grandfather, than his natural Father; running such intolerable lengths of Cruelty, that he soon became as odious as his Predecessor. He undertook one Mock-Expedition against the *Germans*:

^a *Paterc.* lib. ii. *Sueton.* in *Tiberio*.

Entrop. lib. vii.

cap. 12.

^c *Sueton.* in *Calig.* c. 13.

^b *Idem* *ibid.*

^d *Idem*

for which he ordered himself a Triumph^c, tho' he had hardly seen the Enemy. He was murdered at last in his Palace^f, and was succeeded by *Claudius*, a Prince of a middle Character; *Claudius*, who was rather culpable for *permitting* Injustice A. D. 42. than *doing* it^g. In short, *Claudius* was so stupid, that he neither excelled much in Virtue nor Vice. He was the first after *Julius Cæsar*^h, that invaded our Island, first by *Plautus* his *Consular Legate*, who so harassed and distressed the *Britons*, that the Emperor, a few Days after his landing on the Island, made himself Master of great Part of it without much Oppositionⁱ; for which he acted a pompous Triumph, as if himself had conquered by Arms, what was only surrendered through Terror and Dissentions among the Natives. It is agreed on by all Historians, that his Death was effected by Poison, but by whom and in what Manner, is undecided^k.

Claudius however was an excellent Emperor, if compared with his Successor *Nero*; who at first, indeed, set out in the Character of a great Reformer; nor are there wanting in his Life several Instances of many Civil Virtues^l, particularly Munificence, which he persevered in to the End, or rather increased it to Prodigality. The two Vices to which he had an utter Aversion, were Stinginess^m and Hypocrisy. To avoid the former, he became profuse; and to discountenance the latter, he gloried in his

^c *Suet. in Calig. c. 47.* ^f *Idem c. 58. Eutrop. lib. vii.*
^g *Vid. Ausonii Epigr. in Claudium* ^h *Sueton. in Claud. cap. 17. Tacit. lib. vii. c. 14. Eutrop. lib. vii.* ⁱ *Sueton. in Claud. c. 17.* ^k *Idem ibid. c. 44.* ^l *Sueton. in Nero. c. 10.*

Crimes ; and always pardoned, and even careſſed thoſe, who confeſſed their Wickedneſs, from a Principle ^m he had imbibed, that there was no ſuch thing as Chaſtity among Men, only ſome had a Talent of hiding their vicious Thoughts under the Cloak of Sanctity. But the Sequel of his Reign was little elſe than a Series of complicated Evils both to *Chriſtians* and *Pagans*. To the former of theſe he was a bitter Enemy, as we are told by great Numbers of Authors. *Suetonius*, in his Life of *Nero*, expreſſes himſelf thus : *Very ſevere Tortures were inflicted on the Chriſtians, a Set of Men of a new and miſchievous Superſtition*. In his Time the *Britons* rebelled ⁿ, and the *Romans* ſuffered the Loſs of near 70000 Citizens and Allies. At laſt he wantoned with Power, threw off all Care of Government, and devoted himſelf wholly to libidinous Pleaſures and theatrical Performances, in which he fung and acted his Parts among common Stage-Players ; till the State being no longer able to bear a Prince abandoned to Luxury, Luſt, and Cruelty, another Rebellion was raiſed againſt him nearer Home. The Senate judged him an Enemy, and demanded him for Punishment. Upon which he fled ſecretly out of the City to a little Country-houſe of *Sporus* his Freedman ^o, about four Miles from *Rome* ; where after much Whining and Lamentation, he diſpatched himſelf, being aſſiſted in the Deed by one of his Attendants.

Galba, *Galba*, in whoſe Favour the Infurrection was made, enjoyed the Sovereignty a little above

^m *Suet. in Nero. c. 29.* ⁿ *Tacit. An. 14. c. 33. Suet. in Ner. c. 39.* ^o *Sueton. in Ner. c. 49. Eutrop. lib. vii.*

half a Year, and was then killed. For *Otho* stirred up the like Sedition against him, as he had headed against *Nero*. Nor did *Otho* himself survive the Death of *Galba* but a few Months: For he had hardly been invested with the Imperial Purple, before *Vitellius*, being declared Emperor by the Forces under his Command, came against him. The two contending Parties met at *Bebriacum*, a little Town in *Italy*, between *Cremona* and *Verona*. After a short Action, *Otho's* Troops were repulsed with some Loss; the News of which so affected him, that he could never be prevailed upon to risque another Battle, though he expected a considerable Reinforcement, and might probably have vanquished his Rival^p, had he undertaken a second Trial; instead of which, he said he would not hazard the Lives of so many good Men for his Honour. Pursuant to this Resolution, he took leave of his Friends without the least Sign of Dejection, and went to Bed; where he slept soundly the whole Night; and as soon as he awoke in the Morning, took his Weapon, which he had laid under his Pillow for that Purpose, and stab'd himself. *Vitellius* thus obtained the supreme Power; but soon met with a very different End: For after a short Reign of eight Months, in which he shewed many Instances of his tyrannic Disposition, he was seized by a Faction in the Interest of *Vespasian*; who led him about the Streets with a Poniard under his Chin, to make him hold up his Head, while the Rabble pelted him with Stones and Dirt: After which they killed him, and dragged his Car-

Otho,
A. D. 70.

Vitellius,
A. D. 70.

^p Vid. *Martial*. lib. vi. epigr. 32. *Sueton*. in *Oth*. c. 9.

case with a Hook, till it was thrown into the *Tiber*⁹.

Vespasian. *Vespasian* was made Emperor in *Palæstine*; A. D. 71. whither he had been sent by *Nero* against the *Jews*, who were stirred up to a Revolt, by the Misapplication of an Opinion that prevailed at that Time over all the East, namely, that the Offspring of *Judæa* should obtain the Empire of the World^r. He was descended from an obscure Family; which he rather vaunted than concealed, thereby shewing, that he owed his Advancement solely to his Merit. In his Reign the City *Jerusalem* was destroyed; and several important Provinces were added to the *Roman* Dominions. He was so strict a Maintainer of Military Discipline, that he indulged his Officers with no manner of Delicacy. It once happened that he had granted a Commission to a Youth more famous for Finery than Fighting: But when the young Officer came to thank him for his Favour, dressed like a Beau, and scented with Perfumes, the Emperor looking sternly on him, said, with an angry Voice, *I had rather you had smelt of Garlick*^t; and immediately ordered his Commission to be taken from him, and given to a Soldier. He died in the 69th Year of his Age, and was succeeded by his eldest Son *Titus*, who had been entrusted with the chief Command of the Forces at the Siege of *Jerusalem*, where he signalized his Bravery to the Admiration of the whole Army^t. He was so beloved for his Humanity, that the *Romans* called him, *The Delight of Mankind*; so gene-

Titus,
A. D. 80.

⁹ *Sueton.* in *Vitell.* c. 17. *Eutrop.* lib. vii. ^r *Suet.* in *Vesp.* c. 4. ^t *Idem* c. 8. ^t *Idem* in *Tito.* c. 6.

rous and beneficent, that he told his Friends, he had lost one Day because he had done no good Office in it. He was prevented from doing the Good that was expected from him, by a premature Death; which so affected all Degrees and Orders of his Subjects, that his Loss was mourned like that of a kind Parent; nor without Reason; for he was succeeded by his Brother *Domitian*, who was of a Nature very different *Domitian*, from either his Father or Brother, resembling *Tiberius* in Lust, and *Caligula* in Cruelty. At first he behaved with great Moderation, and even Liberality. But these good Qualities were soon overpowered, and the contrary Vices dethroned his Reason, and ruled him with absolute Controul. Nevertheless he was a good Soldier, and very successful^v. He likewise repaired several public Edifices of the City, which had been destroyed, and added many new ones of great Beauty and Magnificence; the Expence of which so exhausted his Treasury, that he was obliged to have Recourse to Rapine and Extortion. He imposed heavy Fines on every religious Sect, especially *Judaism*; and extorted great Sums of Money from all, who were suspected to be *Jews*; though they dissembled their Religion to avoid the Penalty. *Suetonius*, an excellent Writer, assures us, he himself was present, when an old Man of ninety Years was searched for the Sign of Circumcision. After he had for a long time made the Empire groan under the Pressure of a cruel and vicious Tyranny, he was stab'd at last with seven Wounds *A. D. 97.* in his own Bed-chamber^w.

^v *Sueton.* in *Domit.* c. 6.

^w *Idem* c. 17.

Having given this short Account of the first twelve Emperors of *Rome*, commonly called, *The twelve Cæsars*; before we proceed to the Lives of the other Emperors before *Commodus*, it may not be improper to recapitulate, and present the *English* Reader with a reflective View of the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire; that by being acquainted with the Number, Situation, and Extent of its Provinces, together with the Time of their Reduction, he may form clearer and juster Ideas of the several Occurrences in the ensuing History.

*The *Roman* Dominions, A. D. 97.
Sardinia.
Sicily.

The first Country out of *Italy*, that became tributary to the *Roman* State, was *Sardinia*. This Island was reduced to Subjection by the Consul *Titus Manlius* *, about five hundred and eighteen Years after the building of *Rome*. *Sicily* indeed was the first Country that the *Romans* called a Province †: But it was not governed by *Roman* Magistrates, consequently could not be termed a Province, till the Year of the City 545, after successive Wars, prosperous and adverse, carried on in the Island for almost sixty Years ‡. And

Ætolia.

about twenty-one Years after, *Ætolia* †, a large Country in the very Heart of *Greece*, together with *Cephelenia*, *Zacynthus* (now called *Zant*) and all

Islands of the *Ionian* Sea.

the Islands in the *Ionian* Sea, submitted to the *Roman* Power. *Macedonia* was subdued by *Æ-*

Macedonia.

milius Paulus, and laid under Tribute in the Year of *Rome* 516. After the Demolition of

Africa.

Carthage, *Africa* became a Province to *Rome* in the Year 606 †. Soon after, *Corinth*, the

Corinth and

Achaia.

* *Liv.* lib. xxiii. *Paterc.* lib. ii. c. 38. *Eutrop.* lib. iii.

† *Cic.* in *Verr.* II. ad initium. ‡ *Liv.* lib. xxvii. post principium.

‡ *Liv.* lib. xxxviii. *Flor.* lib. ii. c. 12.

‡ Confer sis *Flor.* lib. ii. c. 15. in initio cum *Eutrop.* lib. iv.

Metro-

Metropolis of *Achaia* in the *Peloponnese*, was burnt, and all that Region brought under the *Roman Yoke*. Great Part of *Asia the Less*, a *Asia Minor* Country bounded by the *Euxine* and *Mediterranean* Seas, with the adjacent Islands, was conquered by *Peperna*, and his Successor^c, about six hundred twenty-four Years from the building the City; but *Galatia* had been subdued *Galatia*. by *Vulso Manlius*^d sixty Years before. The *Cilicians* were first conquered in the Year 675. *Cilicia*. And four Years after, *Bithynia* was added to the *Bithynia*. *Roman Dominions*, being left as a Legacy by the Will of King *Nicomedes*. But the Remainder of the *Asiatic Nations*, bordering on the *Pontus*, or *Black Sea*, were reduced by *Pompey*^e; who likewise subdued *Syria*^f and *Palæstine*^g; *Syria*. while the Island of *Crete* received the Yoke *Palæstine*. from *Metellus*^h; and the immense Riches of *Crete*. *Cyprus* tempted the *Roman Senate* to seize that *Cyprus*. Island, tho' then in Alliance with *Rome*. This was executed by *Publius Clodius* the Tribune: Which cruel Procedure caused *Ptolemy*, the then King of the *Cyprians*, to poison himself; and soon after *Cato* was sent to the Island, and returned to *Rome* with a numerous Fleet of Gallies laden with all the Wealth of the *Cyprians*ⁱ, who from thence were numbered among the *Roman Provincials*. All these Exploits were finished about six hundred and ninety Years after the building of the City. Ancient *Gaul, Gaul*.

^c Vid. *Val.* l. i. lib. iii. c. 4. *Flor.* lib. ii. c. 20. *Epit.* ad *Liv.* lib. 2. *Strab.* lib. iv. et *Just.* lib. xxxvi. c. 4.

^d *Paterc.* lib. ii. c. 30. *Flor.* lib. ii. c. 11. ^e Vid. *Plutarch.* in vita *Pomp.* et *Dio.* ^f *Plut.* in *Pomp.* ^g *Flor.* lib. iii. c. 5. ^h *Idem* c. 7. *Velleius*, lib. ii. c. 38. ⁱ *Flor.* lib. iii. c. 9.

comprehending modern *France*, the *Spanish Netherlands*, *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, and all the Countries between the *Rhine* and the *Bay of Biscay*, was reduced by *Julius Cæsar*. The South-Eastern Part of *Gaul* had indeed been made a *Roman Province* about seventy-three Years before by *Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Fabius Maximus*^k; but the Reduction of the Whole was finished by *Cæsar* about the Year of the City 704^l. And tho' the first Conquest of *Numidia* was the Work of *Metellus*^m, completed in the Year 646, yet the forming it into a Province was likewise reserved by Fortune to swell the Glories of the same *Cæsar*ⁿ. *Spain*, *Egypt*, *Illyrium* (a Country North of the *Adriatic Sea*, or Gulph of *Venice*, the principal Part of which now goes by the Name of *Sclavonia*) and Part of *Pannonia* (now *Hungary*) were the Acquests of *Augustus Cæsar*^o. But the Remainder of *Pannonia*, and all *Cappadocia*, were subjugated and became Provinces under *Tiberius*^p his Successor. *Claudius* made the chief Conquest of Our Island, great Part of which, together with the Isles of *Wight*^q and *Orkney*^r, was in his Reign added to the *Roman Dominions*. The *Cottian Alps*, between *Dauphiné* and *Piedmont*, was the Acquisition of *Nero*: Nor was the Kingdom of *Pontus* reduced into the Form of a Province before his Time^s. *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*

^k *Flor.* lib. iii. c. 2. ^l *Paterc.* l. ii. c. 49. ^m *Sallust.* in *Bell. Jugur.* ⁿ *Paterc.* lib. ii. c. 39. ^o *Idem* *ibid.* *Sucton.* in *Augusto.* *Plutar.* *Dio.* *Eutrop.* et al. ^p *Velleius*, lib. ii. c. 39. *Tacit.* *Annal.* lib. ii. *Sueton.* in *Tiber.* *Eutrop.* lib. vii. ^q *Sueton.* in *Vespas.* c. 4. ^r *Vide* *sis Juv.* Sat. ii. v. 161. ^s *Tacit.* *Sueton.* et *Aur. Victor.* in *vita Neron.* *Euseb.* in *Chron.* *Olymp.* *Cassidior.* in *Conf. Rom.*

(now *Constantinople*) and great Part of *Thrace*, *Thrace*, became Provinces under *Vespasian the Elder* ^t. All these once flourishing Countries, the greatest Part of the then known World, reaching from the River *Euphrates* quite to the Western Ocean, and extending from the *Danube* and *Rhine*, together with great Part of *Britain*, to *Egypt*, and *Africa* as far as the 30th Degree of Southern Latitude, were now under Subjection, and paid Tribute to the victorious *Romans*; who, at the Time of the Expulsion of *Tarquin the Proud*, their last King, had not stretched their Conquests above fifteen Miles from the City ^v. Nor was their Empire always confined within these Bounds; but other Acquisitions soon followed, which will be related in the Lives of the subsequent Princes.

Domitian being taken off, to the inexpressible Joy of almost all under the *Roman* Jurisdiction, from his Death the People began to respire from that Load of complicated Miseries, under which they had so long laboured, and a Succession of better Sovereigns ensued for a considerable Time. *Nerva* was the first that began the Reformation, *Nerva*, an excellent Prince, whom *Arrius Antoninus* ^{A. D. 97.} could not forbear pitying, because it was his Lot to take the Reins of Government among Men of such turbulent Spirits and vicious Morals. The Shortness of his Reign did not permit him to give so many Proofs of his Power, as of his Good-will; for he died in about sixteen Months after his attaining to the Imperial Dignity; but not without making excellent Pro-

^t *Suet. in Vesp. Eutrop. lib. vii. Oros. lib. vii. cap. 6.*

^v *Eutrop. lib. i.*

vision for the Happiness of his Subjects, by adopting *Trajan*, and nominating him his Successor.

Trajan, The extraordinary Virtues of *Trajan* make
A. D. 99. such a glorious Description in History, that the
Authors seem to be at a Loss for Words to
express their Admiration of his Valour, Con-
duct, Wisdom, Justice, and Liberality. He
enlarged the *Roman* Dominions beyond the
Bounds reached by any of his Predecessors, by
the Acquisition of *Assyria*, *Armenia*, *Mesopota-*
mia, and *Arabia*^w. From him the *Parthians*,
and other Eastern Nations, received their Kings,
whose Crowns were held at *Trajan's* Pleasure.
Nor was his Behaviour in Civil Government
less admirable than his Success in War. The
Senate of *Rome*, who from giving Laws to fo-
reign Nations, and disposing of Crowns and
Provinces, had been reduced by the former
Emperors to the meanest Servility and most
shameful Corruption, under *Trajan* recovered
some little Glimmerings of their ancient Lustre.
The *Romans* were so sensible of their Happiness
under this excellent Prince, that they even
adored him while living; and after his Death,
broke through the ancient Custom of their Fore-
fathers, and rather than not express their Grati-
tude, by some distinguishing Mark of Respect
to *Trajan's* Memory, they suffered his Reliques
to be buried in the City, an Honour never given
to any Prince before^x; which was the more
extraordinary, as *Trajan* was descended from

Reduc-
tion of
Assyria,
Armenia,
Mesopota-
mia, *Ara-*
bia.

^w *Dio* in *Trajan*. *Euseb.* in *Chron.* *Eutrop.* lib. viii.

^x *Idem* *ibid.* et vide *Alex.* ab *Alex.* lib. vi. c. 14. And
see our Note^b at the Beginning of Book IV.

no illustrious Line, his Father being the first of the Family that arrived to any considerable Dignity in the State : But his personal Merit far outweighed all the remote Privileges of Blood, which Persons of no real Worth so arrogantly claim ; and it became a Custom among the *Romans*, to salute their succeeding Emperors, among other Acclamations, with these good Wishes, *Be happier than Augustus ; better than Trajan.*

After him *Adrian* obtained the Imperial Purple, having been adopted, as some Authors relate, by *Trajan* ; others affirm, that *Trajan* could never be prevailed upon to adopt him, though his Kinsman ; but that *Plotina*, *Trajan's* Wife, after her Husband's Death, pretended, he had adopted him in his Will ; and by that Device *Adrian* was declared Emperor^y. He behaved with great Moderation and Generosity in the Civil Government ; and perhaps had made a brighter Figure in History, had he succeeded any but *Trajan*, whose superior Merit eclipsed the moderate Virtues of his Successor. About the latter End of *Trajan's* Reign, the *Jews* had made several Insurrections and Seditions ; but were repressed by *Lusius*, *Trajan's* General, who was afterwards Governor of *Judea* ; but upon *Trajan's* Death, they raised new Disturbances in different Parts of the World ; till *Adrian* quelled their Tumults, and, by punishing the Ringleaders, reduced them to Subjection. In his Time the *Alexandrians* found their God *Apis*^z, which was an Ox of a very remarkable Colour, with a Turbercle under his

Adrian,
A.D. 118.

^y *Spartian*, in vita *Adrian*.

^z *Idem* *ibid*.

Tongue^a. This Ox they drowned in the *Nile*, and for several Days mourned his Loss : But after a long space of Time, when they found another exactly answering in Colour, Size, and especially the carnous Excrescence under his Tongue, they then supposed their God was risen again, and come to give them another Visit ; upon which Occasion all *Egypt* kept Holy-days^b, and celebrated Feasts, with every kind of enthusiastic Mirth, for the Return of their Deity. No Nation in the World was so much addicted to Religion as the ancient *Egyptians* ; and at these Seasons there was no Regard to Order or Government ; the whole Nation was in an Uproar ; and if any dared to interrupt their Worship, the Populace were always ready to vindicate their Religion by Arms : Which was the Case in *Adrian's* Reign, and gave that Emperor no small Fear. But the Dispute being chiefly about the Town where *Apis* should be entertained, when that was adjusted, the *Egyptians* were appeased, and *Adrian* freed from the Apprehensions of any ill Consequences arising from the Commotions of so populous a Province : For *Adrian's* Abilities did not seem to consist much in War ; which made him soon alarmed at the News of any Disturbances. He was so far from making any new Acquests, that he could not, or would not, retain what his Predecessors left him ; but upon the *Persians* demanding the Province of *Mesopotamia*^c, he gave it up without the least Resistance. Several other large Provinces followed

Mesopotamia given up.

^a *Plin.* Hist. Nat. lib. viii. c. 40.
lib. iii.

^c *Dio, et Spart.* in vita *Adrian*.

^b Vid. *Herodot.*

the Cession of *Mesopotamia*; as if *Adrian* took as much Pleasure to contract, as *Trajan* to extend, the Dominions of the Empire. However, he kept up strict and regular Discipline in the Army; promoted all his Officers on the Score of Merit only^d, and liberally rewarded every great Action. He was such a Lover of Travelling, that he made the Tour of all the Countries in the Empire^e, correcting what was amiss, and encouraging and sharing all the public Diversions. He built several Temples in different Parts of the World, and called them by his own Name; with a Design (as a famous Author^f pretends) to give them for Churches to the *Christians*. But, as there is but little Ground to think *Adrian* so great a Favourer of Christianity, the Story seems rather calculated to please such *Christians*, as fondly imagined it a mighty Honour to their Religion, to have it countenanced by the Great Men of the World, and supported by the secular Power. The Truth is, that *Trajan*, an active Prince, and a zealous Defender of the *Pagan* Faith and the Religion by Law establish'd, had persecuted the *Christians* and other Dissenters: But *Adrian*, being of an easier Temper, tolerated all religious Sects, and preferred Peace, both at Home and Abroad, to every other Consideration. In his private Character, he was courteous and humane, a good Companion and a hearty Friend. *Ælius Verus* was appointed for his Successor, but he did not long survive his Adoption. After him *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus*, afterwards surnamed *Pius*,

^d *Spart. in vita Adrian.*

^e *Entrop. lib. viii.*

^f *Lampridius in vit. Alexand. Sever.*

upon Condition that *Antoninus* should adopt *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher, and *Lucius Verus* the Son of *Ælius Verus* deceased ^g. These two were afterwards Emperors both together.

*Antoninus
Pius,
A. D. 130.*

Antoninus Pius was a Prince, whose Character came little short of that of *Trajan*. He reduced the *Britons*, *Moors*, *Germans*, *Jews*, and other revolting Provinces, to Subjection ^h. He diminished the Taxes, and kept the Collectors of them within due Bounds: To supply which Deficiency in the Revenue, he retrenched the Salaries of such Officers, as were of no other Use in their Places but to receive their Pay, it being his usual Saying, *That nothing was more shameful, nothing more cruel, than for those Vermin to gnaw the State, who contributed nothing to it's Increase by their Labours* ⁱ. He was much beloved at *Rome*, and of great Authority with foreign Nations; though he was so great a Lover of Peace, that he would frequently repeat that Sentence of *Scipio*; *I had rather save one Citizen, than kill a thousand Enemies*. He left the public Treasuries rich, but exhausted his own Wealth by his wonderful Liberality ^k. When he lay on his Death-bed, he sent for *Marcus Antoninus* his adopted Son and Successor, in whose Education he had bestowed uncommon Expence and Pains, and recommended to his Care the Government, and his Daughter *Faustina*. Then he ordered the golden Image of *Fortune*, which was always kept in the Emperor's Bed-chamber, to be carried into *Mar-*

^g *Spart. in vit. Ælii Ver.* ^h *Vid. sis Pausan. Jul. Capitol. Eutrop. et Aur. Victor.* ⁱ *Jul. Capitol. in Ant. Pi.*
^k *Idem ibid. Eutrop. l. viii.*

cus's Apartment; after which, his Fever increasing, he grew delirious, and in a few Days expired.

Marcus Antoninus (who had married the Daughter of *Antoninus Pius*) and *Lucius Verus*, Son-in-law to *Marcus* by marrying his Daughter, held the Imperial Dignity as Collegues, and were the first two that reigned over *Rome* at one Time¹. *Marcus* was very much addicted to the Study of Philosophy, but not to that degree, as to forget he was an Emperor. A Rebellion breaking out among the *Parthians*, *Lucius* undertook an Expedition against them, while *Marcus* continued at *Rome*, intent on Affairs of Government, and making such Laws, as were wholesom to the Commonwealth. When the *Parthians* were subdued, the Title of *Parthicus* was given to both the Emperors: *Marcus*, indeed, modestly refused it at first, as he had no Share in the Victory, but afterwards was prevailed on to accept it. *Lucius* has but an indifferent Character given him by Historians; who report, that he devoted himself greatly to Sloth and Debauchery, especially while he resided in *Syria*; committing the Care of the War to his Lieutenant-Generals^m: But *Marcus* winked at his Son-in-law's Failings, and endeavoured to make Compensation for them by his own extraordinary Diligence and Industry. After the Conquest of *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Media*ⁿ, *Lucius* returned to *Rome*, with great Reluctancy, as he did not like to be so near his

Marcus,
and
Lucius,
A. D. 161.

Armenia,
Parthia,
and
Media,
conquer-
ed.

¹ *Spart. in vit. Æl. Ver. Capitol. in Mar. Antonin. et Eutrop. lib. viii.* ^m *Capitol. in L. Ver. Eutrop. lib. viii.* ⁿ *Jul. Capitol. in L. Ver. et in Mar. Anton.*

Brother, whose grave philosophical Morals were not very agreeable to a Man of his loose Conduct. When he had reigned eleven Years with his Brother, he was taken suddenly ill, when they were both together in the Chariot, of which Illness he soon died; which gave Rise to a Suspicion, that *Marcus* had poisoned him; because *Lucius* designed to make the like Attempt against *Marcus* °.

Marcus
alone,
A.D. 171.

Marcus being left sole Emperor, applied himself to the Administration of Affairs with redoubled Diligence. He quelled the rebellious Provinces, conquered the *Persians*, recovered *Mesopotamia*, beat the *Germans*, after a great, a painful, and a calamitous War^p; and exerted all the Qualities of a brave Soldier, and a temperate and wise Governor. His Principles of Stoic Philosophy may be seen in his Works still extant. This is that *Marcus* of whom we find such honourable Mention in the ensuing History; and whose pathetic Speech on his Death-bed, concerning his Son *Commodus*, is given by *Herodian*: To whom I shall now admit the Reader, without detaining him with any longer Preamble; and reserve whatever else may be necessary to give him sufficient Light into the *Roman* Affairs, for my Notes on *Herodian*; where each Circumstance worthy Notice shall be explained, as it occasionally offers.

° Vid. *Dio. et Philostrat.* in vit. *Herod.* p Vid. *Dio. et Capit.* in vit. *Marci.* *Eutrop.* lib. viii. et *Ammian.* *Marc.* lib. xxxi.

HERODIAN's

History of his own Times,

OR OF

The Empire after MARCUS.

THE PROEM.

THE greatest Part of the Compilers of History, who have undertaken to renew the Memory of certain Transactions of Antiquity, covetous of everlasting Fame, and fearing that Silence might bury their Names in Obscurity by mingling them among the Vulgar, have had but very little Regard to Truth in their Narratives, provided they could but obtain the Character of elegant and entertaining Writers; while they promise themselves the ample Fruits of their Labours, in captivating their Readers with the Sweetness of the Narration, be it ever so fabulous; and are confident, no one will trouble himself to detect their Falshood by a strict Examination into what they relate. Others, carried away by their own private

vate

vate Piques, or to shew their Hatred of Tyrants, or express their Flattery or Respect to Princes, States, and even private Persons, have, by the partial Force of Rhetoric, bestowed Encomiums exceeding all Credibility on Actions in themselves trivial and contemptible. On the contrary, I have, with great Care and Exactness, composed an authentic History of Transactions, not received by Tradition from others, not unknown, nor unattested; but such as falling within the Compass of modern Times, are yet recent in the Reader's Memory: Nor will it, I presume, be a disagreeable Amusement to Posterity, to be entertained with a Series of Facts, which are indeed the Productions but of a few Years, and yet so numerous and important, that whoever shall compare the whole Course of Time down from *Augustus*, when the *Roman* State degenerated into a Monarchy, to the Reign of *Marcus*, he will not find in all that Space, comprehending about 200 Years^a, such frequent Revolutions of Government; such various Events of War, both intestine and foreign; such Commotions of Nations; such Destructions of Cities, as well within our own Territory, as among the *Barbarians*; such Earthquakes, and Pestilences; and Lives of Tyrants and Princes, abounding with a Variety of such incredible Circumstances, as have never, or at least very rarely, been mentioned in the Annals of preceding Ages. Some of these enjoyed a long

^a The Time from the 33d Year of *Augustus Cæsar's* Life (which is properly the first Year of his Reign) to the Death of *Lucius Verus* (when *Marcus* remained sole Emperor) will, on a careful Computation, be found to be exactly 200 Years.

Reign; others were but occasional Sovereigns; nay, so fleeting has the Honour been to some, that they were only flattered with a momentary Title, and lost the Dignity the very Day they obtained it. For the *Roman* Empire having, in the Course of sixty Years^b, been rent and divided among a greater Number of Potentates, than the Shortness of the Time seemed to require, it is no Wonder that so little a Space has been crowded with a Multitude of various and surprizing Incidents. Thus the Emperors of a more advanced Age, by the Advantage of a long Experience in Business, governed themselves and their Subjects with greater Circumspection: On the other hand, they who came very young to the Government, from a negligent unthinking Course of living, introduced no small Number of Innovations. Hence it was, that from different Ages and Principles arose as great a Diversity in their Inclinations and Pursuits. Of all these I design to treat, following the Order of the Times, and the Succession of the Powers.

^b From the last Year of *Marcus's* Life (whence *Herodian* begins his History) to the first of *Gordian's* Reign (where he ends it) are upwards of 59 Years.

HERODIAN.

BOOK I.

THE Emperor *Marcus* had several Daughters, but only two Sons. One of these, whose Name was *Verissimus*, died in his Childhood ; his surviving Brother, named *Commodus*, was brought up with uncommon Care : For his Father procured from all Parts, Men most famous for Learning, whom he invited by no mean Encouragements from their own Countries, in order to complete his Son's Education. He likewise married his Daughters, as they came to Maturity, to the most virtuous Members of the Senate : For not such as were most illustrious by a long successive Train of Ancestors, nor those who boasted of their immense Possessions ; but they who excelled in a decent Deportment, and a sober Life, were by *Marcus* judged worthiest to be Sons-in-law to an Emperor. These Qualities he esteemed the true, unalienable Riches of the Mind. And though Virtues of every kind shared in his Regard, he was peculiarly fond of ancient Erudition ; in which he arrived at so great a Perfection, that he was inferior to none, either of the *Greeks* or *Romans* ; as many of his excellent Sayings and Writings, still extant, do sufficiently testify.

i

To

To his Subjects he was a gentle and moderate Prince; so easy of Access, that he strictly forbade his Guards to hinder any from approaching his Presence. In a word, he was the only King^a that shewed forth the Force of Philosophy, not by the Knowledge of Words and Sentences, but by a Dignity of Behaviour and a sober Life.

The Age, in which this Prince flourished, produced a great Number of wise and learned Men: For Subjects are naturally zealous of imitating the Manners of their Sovereign. But as all the Actions of *Marcus*, remarkable for Bravery, Wisdom, and military Polity, both among the barbarous Northern Nations and the Inhabitants of the East, have been faithfully recorded by many able Writers; I shall confine myself to the Narration of those Affairs, which have been transacted since his Death in my own Times; most of which I have seen and heard,

^a *Herodian* throughout the whole History but seldom uses the Word *Ἀσποκράτωρ*, which answers to the *Latin*, *Imperator*, *Emperor*; but generally calls the Sovereigns of *Rome* *Βασιλεῖς*, *Kings*. And, indeed, the Difference consisted only in Fancy; for though the *Romans*, under their Republican State, hated the very Title of *Kings*, yet their Emperors were full as arbitrary and despotic, as the most absolute Monarchs of other Nations. Nevertheless they fondly kept up the Title of *Imperatores*, as a Term they were more used to, it being that with which their Ancestors had generally honoured the Chief Commanders of their Armies, and sometimes the Supreme Magistrates of their State: For we find the Term applied by their best Writers to Civil Governors. Thus *Sallust* calls the two first Consuls of *Rome*, *Binōs Imperatores*, *Two Emperors*; meaning no more, than two Persons indued with supreme Power. This I thought proper to premise, that the *English* Reader might not be surprized at sometimes meeting the Word *King* in the Course of the History.

and

and in some have myself had no small Share, as I was employed in several Offices of Honour both in the Court and Government.

A.D. 180. When *Marcus* was advanced in Years, and worn out not only with Age, but the Fatigues of War, and Cares of State, he was seized in *Pannonia* with a violent Disease; and as he had little Hope of Recovery, he beheld with Anxiety his Son just entring on the Stage of Youth; and was afraid, the Impetuosity of Passions, so common to that Time of Life, added to the arbitrary and unrestrained Power he was going to possess, when in his Orphan-State, might carry him away from the Pursuit of laudable Studies, and give him up to Dissoluteness and Debauchery. For the Minds of Youth are but too easily diverted from the Paths of good Instruction, and sink into the fatal Gulph of Pleasures. Many Instances occurred to the Emperor (as he was a Man well read in Ancient History) of Princes who took the Reins of Government when young; and the Remembrance of those encreased his Apprehensions. He thought on *Dionysius*^b, Tyrant of *Sicily*, a Man

^b There were two of this Name, Father and Son, both alike in the Viciousness of their Morals, but very different in Valour and Success. The Father flourished about the Time when *Rome* was taken and burnt by the *Gauls*. He reigned about thirty-eight Years, and died a natural Death, for any thing that is certain to the contrary. His Son (the *Dionysius* here meant, held the Tyranny but twelve Years; for *Dion*, whom he had banish'd to *Corinth*, came against him into *Sicily*, while he was absent, and with only two Transports, in three Days time, entred *Syracuse*, the Metropolis of the Island, and soon reduced all that Part of *Sicily* that was under the Dominion of the Tyrant. *Dionysius* afterwards fled to *Corinth*, where (as Authors affirm) he commenced School-master.

abandoned to Intemperance, and continually hunting after new Scenes of expensive Pleasures. He reflected too on the Successors of *Alexander*, who, by their Haughtiness and Violence to their Subjects, disgraced that Power with which he had invested them. *Ptolemy* went so far, as to ascend his Sister's Bed^c, in direct Violation of the Laws of the *Macedons* and *Greeks*. *Antigonus*, to imitate the God *Bacchus*, instead of the *Macedonian*^d *Causia* and Diadem, was crown'd

^c This must be understood of Sisters by both Father and Mother; otherwise our Author is mistaken in his Assertion: For the Marriage of a Woman to her Brother on the Father's Side, or, as the *Latins* call it, her *Brother German*, was not only common among the Eastern Nations (of which *Abraham* and *Sarah* is an Instance) but was also allowable by the Laws of *Greece*, as might be proved by numberless Passages in History; to which *Herodian*, as he was himself a *Greek*, could hardly be a Stranger. It is therefore most probable, that the *Ptolemy* here meant was *Ptolemæus Ceraunus*, eldest Son of *Ptolemæus Lagus*, surnamed *The Saviour*, who was one of *Alexander's* Generals, and, after his Death, the first King of *Egypt*. The Story, as may be gathered from *Theocritus*, *Strabo*, *Appian*, *Justin*, and others, runs thus: *Ptolemy the Saviour* had, by his Wife *Eurydice*, *Ptolemæus Ceraunus*, and a Daughter named *Arsinoë*; and by his other Wife *Berenice*, *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*; who, though the younger Son, had the Kingdom given him by his Father before the old Man's Death, in preference to the hereditary Claim of *Ceraunus* the elder Brother. *Arsinoë*, *Ceraunus's* Sister, was first married to *Lysimachus*, another of *Alexander's* Generals, King of *Thrace* and *Pontus*, by whom she had several Children. After the Death of *Lysimachus*, *Ceraunus* (the *Ptolemy* here mentioned) married his Widow; which Match, *Herodian* says, was made in direct Violation of the Laws of the *Macedons* and *Greeks*; because *Ceraunus* was own Brother to *Arsinoë* both by Father and Mother.

^d The *Causia* was a kind of Bonnet, or rather Hat, with broad Brims, worn by the *Macedons* to save their Faces from being *Sun-burnt*, as the Etymon of the Word seems to imply.

with Ivy, and for a Sceptre carried a *Thyrſus* ^c. But he was moſt alarmed at the more modern Examples, whoſe Memory was ſtill freſh in his Mind; the Wickedneſs of *Nero*, who murdered his own Mother, and made himſelf a ridiculous Spectacle to the People; and the Audacity of *Domitian*, who proceeded even to the laſt Extremes of Cruelty. The Ideas of ſuch Tyrannies as theſe diſtracted his Mind, and kept him fluctuating between Hopes and Fears. Beſides, the neighbouring *Germans* gave him no ſmall Uneaſineſs; whom he had not yet entirely ſubdued, but only had perſuaded ſome of them into his Alliance; others he kept in Awe by the Terror of his Arms; and many had fled, and lay for the preſent quiet in their Retreat, dreading the Preſence of ſo great a Monarch. Of theſe he had ſtrong Suſpicions, that, holding his Son's Youth in Contempt, they would, after his Decease, reſume their former Hoſtility: For the Barbarians are naturally fond of raiſing Diſturbances upon the moſt trifling Occaſions. Thus toſſed in a tempeſtuous Sea of Cares, he called together his Friends, and as many of his Relations as were with him; and his Son being brought before them, when they were all aſſembled, he raiſed himſelf gently on his Bed, and began in this Manner.

Speech of
Marcus.

“ I am not at all ſurprized to find you thus
“ ſenſibly touched at the unhappy Condition in
“ which you ſee me involved; for there is a
“ certain Sympathy in human Nature, mov-

^c The *Thyrſus* was a Spear wrapt round with Vine and Ivy Leaves; which the Priſteſſes of *Bacchus* carried in Proceſſion before his Image, in their mad *Orgies* at his Feſtivals called by the *Romans*, *Bacchinalia*.

COMMODUS.

9

“ ing Men to compassionate the Distresses
 “ of their Brethren, especially when they are
 “ Spectators of their Misery. But I have still
 “ a stronger Claim to your Affection; for from
 “ a Consciousness of my own tender Regard
 “ for your Welfare I have just Reason to ex-
 “ pect a suitable Return of Friendship. The
 “ Time is now come, both for me to experi-
 “ rience the Honour and Respect I have so long
 “ bestowed on you, not thrown away on the
 “ Unworthy; and for you to shew, by a grate-
 “ ful Return, that you are not unmindful of
 “ the Favours conferred. Behold my Son,
 “ whom yourselves have educated, just entering
 “ on the Voyage of Youth, and, like a Vessel
 “ in a perilous Sea, needing the Direction of
 “ skilful Pilots; lest, for want of Experience,
 “ he be driven from his right Course, and split
 “ on the Rocks of Pride and Immorality.
 “ Let him find in you many Parents, to com-
 “ pensate the Loss of one in me. Be ever near
 “ him, and always help him with your whol-
 “ som Counsels: For neither is an immense Mass
 “ of Wealth sufficient to support the Excesses
 “ of a Tyrant; nor is there any Safety for a
 “ Prince in the Multitude of his Guards, un-
 “ less he also rule in the Hearts of his People.
 “ Those Sovereigns are most likely to enjoy a
 “ long and happy Reign, who aim not at ex-
 “ citing Terror by their Cruelty, but at being
 “ great and amiable in Goodness. For not the
 “ Subjects who are Slaves through Necessity,
 “ but such as are won by Kindness, and charm’d
 “ into Obedience, may be judged loyal with-
 “ out Suspicion of Fraud or Flattery; and only
 “ such persevere in their Duty of doing or
 “ suffering

“ suffering for their King, whatever is required;
 “ nor do they fall away from their Allegiance,
 “ except they are driven to it by Violence and
 “ Indignities. It is extremely hard, for Men
 “ invested with unlimited Power, to moderate
 “ their Desires, and set Bounds to their Passions.
 “ By repeating to him these and the like useful
 “ Admonitions, and often reminding him of
 “ what he now hears, you will not only pro-
 “ cure to yourselves, and all his other Subjects,
 “ a wise and worthy Sovereign; but also pay
 “ the best and most grateful Tribute to my
 “ Memory, which by these Means, and these
 “ alone, it is in your Power to make immortal.”

As he spake these last Words, a sudden
 Faintness suppressed his Voice; and, through
 Weakness and want of Spirits, he sunk down
 again in the Bed. The melancholy Occasion
 A.D. 180. very deeply affected all who were present; some
 of whom could not contain their Grief, but
 vented it in loud Lamentations. Nor did he
 survive the Relapse longer than one Night and
 Day; and then with great Tranquillity breathed
 His Death. his last; leaving behind him a deep Sorrow for
 his Loss among those of his Time, and an ever-
 lasting Memory of his Virtue to Posterity.

When the Report of the Emperor's Death
 was spread, the whole Army, and the common
 People then present, were equally affected with
 the News. Nor were there any throughout all
 the *Roman* Jurisdiction, who received the me-
 lancholy Tidings without Tears; but all, as
 with one Voice, lamented him; some called
 him a good Emperor, some an experienced and
 valiant General, and others a wise and mode-
 rate

rate Governor; nor was one of them mistaken in his Appellation.

After a few Days spent in the Funeral of his Father, his Friends thought proper to present the young Prince to the Army, that he might make a Speech to the Soldiers, and distribute Money amongst them, as was customary for those who succeeded to the Empire; and by liberal Largeſſes^f attach them to his Interest.

^f Tho' *Commodus* had been made *Augustus*, and taken into Partnership of the Empire by his Father, after the Death of *Lucius Verus* his Uncle; it was nevertheless customary to distribute Money among the Soldiers and People, when the Sovereign came to the ſole Command of the Empire. The Largeſſes to the People were called *Congiaries*, and thoſe to the Soldiers *Donatives*. *Dio* mentions, as the uſual Sum of a Congiary, 140 *Drachmas*, or, as the *Romans* called them, *Deniers*: For tho' the *Attic Drachma* was anciently leſs than the *Roman Denarius*, yet *Budæus* is certainly right in making them the ſame, at leaſt after the twelve *Cæſars*; for what the *Latin Writers* call *Denarius*, the *Greek* Hiſtorians, of the Time of our Hiſtory, expreſs by *Δραχμή*. So that the *Drachm* and *Denier* are ſynonymous. The moſt uſual Donative was 3000 *Deniers*, *i. e.* almoſt 94 *l.* of our Money, to each Man; whereas the customary Congiary was but 4 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* to each. But the Sums of both were arbitrary, and varied according to the Fancy of the Emperor. Thus *Julius Capitolinus* aſſures us, that when *Marcus* and *Verus* came to the Imperial Dignity, each Soldier received a Donative of 20,000 *Sesterces*, in our Money above 156 *l.* And *Lampridius* ſays, *Commodus* once gave a Congiary to the People, of 725 *Deniers* to each, about 22 *l.* 13 *s.* 1 *d.* Nor will this be thought incredible, if we conſider the great Extent of the *Roman Power* under the Emperors, what immense Revenues they extorted from all their Provinces by their Stewards and Collectors, and the large Sums ariſing from the Proſcription of their Officers, Nobility, and Gentry; all whoſe Lives and Fortunes were at the deſpotic Diſpoſal of their Emperors; and upon their Conviction, nay, upon the lighteſt Suſpicions of Treason, their Effects were often immediately ſeized and conſiſcated.

Orders were therefore given, for them all to assemble in the Field appointed ; where *Commodus* appeared, and having performed the usual Divine Service, he mounted the Tribunal, erected for that Purpose in the midst of the Camp ; and his Father's Friends, Men of great Wisdom and Eloquence, standing round him, he spake to the Army in Words like these :

Speech of
Commodus.

“ That your Sorrow for this our deplorable
 “ Loss is not in the least inferior to my own,
 “ but that we all endure an equal Share of the
 “ common Calamity, is a Truth, of which I am
 “ firmly persuaded. For all the Time of my
 “ dear Father's Life, I never behaved myself as
 “ your Superior. He loved us all with equal
 “ Affection, and was always more fond of call-
 “ ing me his Fellow-Soldier than his Son. The
 “ latter he looked upon only as an Appellation
 “ of Nature ; the former he esteemed a Com-
 “ munication of Virtue. When I was an In-
 “ fant, he would often take me in his Arms,
 “ and commit me into your Hands, as a Pledge
 “ of that great Trust he reposed in you. Hence
 “ I have the most rational Hopes of sharing in
 “ your Affections. From the Elders I may ex-
 “ pect the Tendernefs of Tutors to their Pu-
 “ pils ; the Younger I may address by the Title
 “ of my Schoolfellows-in-Arms : For my Fa-
 “ ther loved you, all as one, and trained you
 “ up in every kind of Virtue. After him, Pro-
 “ vidence has given you me for your Sovereign,
 “ not claiming the Dignity by the precarious
 “ Right of Adoption (as former Emperors) and
 “ receiving the Government as a new Acqui-
 “ sition. I was born your Prince, and even
 “ suckled in Royalty ; my Swadling-bands
 “ wrapt

“ wrapt me in Honours above the Rank of private
 “ Persons; the Imperial Purple received me from
 “ the Womb; and the Sun at the same Instant
 “ saw me both a Man and a Sovereign. Reflect
 “ on those Circumstances, and you cannot but
 “ love me, as an Emperor, not given, but born
 “ to you. My Father has soar’d [§] into Heaven,
 “ and is now an Attendant and Assessor to the
 “ Gods: To us is committed the Care of Men,
 “ and the Administration of earthly Affairs.
 “ These to direct and confirm is your Work,
 “ by extinguishing the Remains of War with
 “ your wonted Valour, and extending the *Ro-*
 “ *man* Empire even to the Bounds of the O-
 “ cean. This will procure you lasting Glory,
 “ and pay the most grateful Acknowledgement
 “ to the Memory of our common Father; whom,
 “ tho’ absent, you are to believe a Hearer of
 “ what we say, and an Inspector over all our
 “ Actions: And happy let us esteem ourselves,
 “ in having such a Witness of our virtuous
 “ Deeds. Hitherto the Success of your Arms,
 “ and Courage, may be referred to his great
 “ Wisdom and Experience in War; but what-
 “ ever you shall atchieve under my Command,
 “ will be attributed to your own Fidelity
 “ and Valour: Hence you will supply the
 “ Authority wanting to my Youth, by your
 “ own Virtue; you will, at the Beginning of
 “ a new Government, keep the Barbarians in
 “ their Duty; suppress their Contempt of my
 “ weak Age for the present; and, from the

§ This alludes to the Custom of letting the Eagle fly
 from the Top of the Funeral-Pile, at the Deification of the
 deceased Emperors; as largely described by our Author at
 the Beginning of the Fourth Book.

“ dreadful Remembrance of what they have already felt, prevent their raising any future Disturbances.”

After *Commodus* had ended his Speech, and by the Donation of large Sums of Money made the Army his own, he returned to the Palace. And for some little Time Matters were well carried on by the Counsels of his Father's Friends ; who were every Day with him, and continually advising the best Measures of Government : Nor did they give him any longer Intervals from public Affairs, than what they judged requisite to preserve the due Temperature of his Body by innocent Recreations. But it was not long ere some servile Courtiers insinuated themselves into his Presence, and endeavoured to poison the Morals of the young Prince. A Set of Table-Flatterers, who measured Happiness by Lust and Appetite, were perpetually hinting to him the Delicacies of *Rome* ; enumerating the charming Sights, the captivating Sounds, with all that rich Profusion of various Plenty ; and at the same Time complaining, that he murdered all the Time he spent on the Banks of the *Danube*, in a Soil unfruitful, parched with intolerable Frosts, and eternally buried under Mountains of Snow. “ When, say they, will our Royal Master leave off drinking Waters dug out of frozen Rivers ; while others enjoy the Pleasures of warm Fountains and cool Streams, and the peculiar Blessings of that temperate Air, of which no Part of the World but *Italy* can boast ? ” With such alluring Suggestions, they easily excited in the Youth a strong Desire to taste the Pleasures they so extolled. He sent for his Friends, and told them,

them,

them, he had a great Inclination to see his native Country : But being ashamed to confess the true Reason of this sudden Alteration, he pretended he was apprehensive that some one of the wealthiest *Patricians*^h might in his Absence take Possession of the Imperial Palace ; and thence, as from a strong Citadel, having collected sufficient Forces, might declare his Design, and seize upon the Sovereignty. That it was no hard Matter, in so populous a City, to get a proper Number of chosen young Men to vindicate his Pretensions.

While the Youth couched his Sentiments under these specious Pretexts, the rest were inwardly shock'd at what they heard, and hung down their Heads in Sorrow and Silence : But *Pompeianus* (who was the oldest of them all, and related to the Emperor by marrying his eldest Sister) made the following Reply.

“ It is very natural for us to believe, my Son Speech of
 “ and my Master, that you long after your na- *Pompeia-*
 “ tive Country ; since we ourselves are touch'd *nus.*
 “ with the like Desire of seeing our Families.
 “ But as our Duty to our Sovereign, and the
 “ important Service our Country demands of

^h The *Patricians*, strictly taken, signified only those, who were the Descendants of the first *Patres*, or Senators, created by *Romulus*. *Patres Conscripti*, *Conscript Fathers*, was the common Title of Respect, with which each Member, when he made a Speech, addressed the whole House. The Term at first was given to such as from the lower Orders of the Citizens were enrolled, or *conscribed*, among the Senators to fill up their Number ; which in the first Age of the Commonwealth was 300, but afterwards their Number became vague and arbitrary. For *Cicero* (*post redit.*) mentions 510. *Julius Cæsar* swell'd them to above 1000 ; but *Augustus* reduced them to the former Number.

“ us in these Parts, justly claim the first Place
“ in our Wishes, to these we postpone all pri-
“ vate Considerations. You will hereafter be
“ blest, the greatest Part of your Life, with a
“ secure Enjoyment of whatever is desirable at
“ Home: And in the mean time, wherever the
“ Emperor is, there is *Rome*. But to leave a
“ War unfinished, is a Step as dangerous as dis-
“ honourable; by which we shall give new Spi-
“ rits to the Barbarians; who will immediately
“ conclude, we are not invited Home by the
“ Love of our Country, but driven hence by
“ the Fear of our Enemies. On the contrary,
“ how glorious will be your Return, when, hav-
“ ing conquered all the Nations of the North,
“ and bounded your Empire with the Ocean,
“ you shall enter your City in Triumph, while
“ fetter’d Captives shall follow your Chariot,
“ and barbarous Kings and Deputies grace the
“ Procession! ’Twas thus the *Romans* of former
“ Ages made themselves Great and Illustrious.
“ You have no Reason to fear, that while you are
“ absent, any one at Home will create Disturb-
“ ances: For you have with you the noblest of
“ the Senators; the whole Military Power is
“ present, and ever ready to defend the Rights
“ of their Emperor; the Treasuries of the royal
“ Revenues are here also; and the dear Memory
“ of your departed Father cannot fail of con-
“ firming to you the inviolate Faith and good
“ Affection of all, who under you fill any Post
“ of Honour or Authority.”

Pompeianus, by this Speech, endeavoured to encourage the Youth to the Pursuit of better Measures; and it was forcible enough to put a present Stop to his Inclinations. For *Commo-*
*du*s,

dus, aw'd at the old Man's Words, and unable to make any reasonable Reply, dismissed the Council, with telling them, he would reflect on what had been said, and take a longer Time to consider of it. But his Ministers and Sycophants eternally hanging upon him, he no more communicated his Designs to his Friends; but having dispatched Letters, and distributed the Government on the Banks of the *Danube* to whom he thought proper, and commanded them to guard against the Inroads of the Barbarians, he gave the necessary Orders to decamp. His Officers faithfully discharged their Duty, and in a short Time reduced by Arms the greatest Part of the Barbarians to his Subjection; and by valuable Considerations easily brought over others to his Alliance. For the Barbarians, being by Nature excessively fond of Money, and Despisers of Dangers, either maintain themselves by Incurfions and Rapines, or comply with the first Overtures for a venal Peace, provided the Purchasers bid up to the Price of it. Which *Commodus* knowing, and willing to buy Ease at any Rate, as he did not want Money, refused nothing they demanded.

When the Report of his intended Departure *Commodus* came abroad, there was a great Hurry and Con- returns to
fusion throughout all the Camp. Every one was *Rome*.
willing to go with him, to be freed from the Trouble of a tedious War, and enjoy the Delights and Diversions of *Rome*. But when Messengers arrived at the City, proclaiming the Emperor's Return, the *Roman* People were overjoyed at the News, and conceived great Hopes of the Good they were to reap from their young Sovereign's Residence among them; for they at
once

once concluded, the Son inherited the Father's Virtues. *Commodus* performed his Journey with a juvenile Haste; he ran through the intermediate Cities, and every where met with the Reception of a King, all the People celebrating his Appearance with Mirth and Festivity, and beholding him with Eyes which seemed to express their Loyalty and good Affections. When he came within a few Miles of *Rome*, the whole Senate, and all the Inhabitants of the City, without any regard to Order or Quality, each striving to be foremost, ran out to meet him, carrying Laurels, and all kinds of Flowers the Season afforded; every one going as far as he was able, pleased with the Thoughts of seeing and welcoming Home their young illustrious Emperor. For they sincerely longed to see him, as he was a Prince born and bred amongst them; and descended in the third Degree from a Family allied to the Throne and Senate. By his Father's Side, he sprang from the most illustrious of the Senatorian Order. His Mother, *Faustina*, the late Empress, was the Daughter of *Antoninus Pius*, and Grand-daughter to *Adrian* by the Woman's Side, and referred her Lineage up to *Trajan* her Great-grandfather. Thus noble was *Commodus* by Extraction. And, besides the sprightly Bloom of his Youth, his Form was truly amiable. In his Body appear'd a just Symmetry of Parts; in his Face was visible the Majesty of Manhood, attempered with the Softness of Beauty; his Eyes were vivid and sparkling; his Hair naturally curled, and of so bright a Yellow, that, whenever he walk'd in the Sun, it glittered like Fire, emitting Sparks of Light so quick, that some conjectured, as he

went,

His Beauty.

went, his Head was sprinkled with the Filings of Goldⁱ; others, of a more superstitious Cast, accounted for it by a supernatural Power; some heavenly Lustre, they said, came with him into the World, and settling on his Head, from thence diffused its Rays of Divinity. Add to all this, the bloomy Down on his Cheeks, resembling the Softness of Beds of Flowers. Thus charmed at the Sight of so beautiful a Sovereign, the *Romans* received him with all possible Demonstrations of Joy, decking his Pass with Garlands, and strewing the Ground with Flowers. When he rode into the City, and had visited first the Temple of *Jupiter*, and afterwards those of the other Deities in Order, and returned the Senate and Soldiers left at Home his Thanks for their Loyalty and faithful Services, he retired to the Imperial Palace.

For a few Years he shewed great Respect for his Father's Friends, and did every thing as their Counsels directed; but when he came to take the Direction of Affairs into his own Hands, he made *Perennius*, an *Italian*, *Prefect* of his Camps^k; a Person of a military Character,

ⁱ Yellow Hair was esteemed so beautiful among the *Romans*, that their Beaux used to powder their Hair with Gold-dust. This *Capitolinus* asserts of the Emperor *Verus*. *Trebellius* mentions the same Custom in the Life of *Gallienus*; and *Lampridius* expressly affirms, that *Commodus* used the same Art.

^k As the Mention of the *Roman* Officers very frequently occurs in History, a short Account of their several Ranks and Titles may not be thought improper. The Officers of the Army were *Decurions*, *Centurions*, *Tribunes*, *Præfects*, *Legates*, and *Prætors*.

The *Decurions* were Officers of Horse, so called from their having the Command of a *Decury*, or ten Men, the
third

and therefore judged proper to preside over the Army. This Minister, practising on the Weakness of the young Monarch, gave him all possible Leisure to corrupt his Manners with Ef-

third part of a Troop. The Number of Troops in a Legion was generally ten.

Centurions sometimes commanded a *Century*, which commonly consisted of one hundred Foot. But the Term was not confined to the Infantry; for we read of *Centuries* of Horse in *Cicero*, Philip. 4. *Livy*, lib. i. and other Authors. Nor were the *Centurions* always Captains of *Hundreds*, as the Word implies: On the contrary, an *Ordo* or *Rank*, which was half a *Maniple*, and contained but sixty Men, was often headed by *Centurions*. The principal *Centurion* of the Legion was called *Primipilus* (from the *Pilum*, a Weapon used by his Company) and *Primus Centurio*, *First Centurion*, or *Ductor Ordinis primi*, *Leader of the first Rank*. He had the Charge of the Eagle, or *Chief Standard*: But that he was styled *Prefect of the Legion*, as some Antiquarians assert, seems to be a Mistake, as we shall presently shew.

The *Tribunes of Soldiers* were at first but three, afterwards six, and then ten, in a Legion. They were anciently chosen, partly by the Consuls, partly by the Suffrages of the People. Their Office empowered them to decide Controversies by Courts Martial; to see the Camps well fortified, and the Watch disposed in due Order; to give the Watch-word; to cashire Cohorts, when necessary; to take care the Army was well victualled; and to keep the Soldiers obedient to Command. Their Commission was but for a certain Time: Some Moderns conjecture, from a Passage in *Juvenal*, Sat. vii. v 89. (which however is uncertain) that it was but six Months. After which they never could be a *Ductor ordinum*, or *Centurion*, but were usually promoted to a *Prefecture*; which is the next Office to be explained.

The *Roman Legion* consisted of ten Cohorts; but the Number of Men that composed a Cohort was very various. *Plutarch* (in *Romulo*) asserts, the Legion at first had but 3000 Foot and 300 Horse. *Livy* mentions Legions from 4000 to 6000 Foot, and from 200 to 400 Horse. *Festus* makes a Legion sometimes consist of 6200 Men. *Polybius*, lib. i. says, the Complement of a Legion in the first *Punic*

feminacy and Voluptuousness. He kept from him the Cares and Toils of Government; and took upon himself the whole Administration of Affairs. He had an insatiable Thirst after

War was 5200 Infantry, and 200 Cavalry: But the same Author assures us, lib. iii. that the ordinary Number did not exceed 4000 Foot and 200 Horse; which seems to be corroborated by *Julius Cæsar*, Comment. lib. v. who tells us, two of his Legions at that Time did not make above 7000 Men. Each of the ten Cohorts in a Legion was commanded by a *Prefect*, an Officer not much unlike a modern *Brigadier*. Besides these, there was a *Prefect of the Legion* (as *Alexander ab Alexandro* rightly observes, lib. vi. c. 20.) who commanded in Chief when his Legion was detached from the main Army. This Officer was frequently called *Dux Legionis*; *Leader of the Legions*. Thus the same Gradation, that *Sallust*, *Bell. Cat.* observes, when, speaking of *Petreibus*, he says, *He had been for thirty Years either a Tribune, a PREFECT, a Legate, or a Pretor*, is kept up by *Spartian* in his *Life of Niger*, who was (says the Author) *a very good Soldier, a singular Tribune, an excellent LEADER, a most severe Legate, a notable Consul*: In which Description the Term *Dux* is used for *Præfectus*. The same *Spartian* a little before cites a Letter of *Marcus* the Emperor, in which he writes; *I have made him [Niger] a Tribune twice, and will soon make him Dux*; by which he meant *Prefect of a Legion*. There was likewise a *Prefect of the Pretorians* or *Life-Guards*, an Officer of great Authority; who was always chosen from the Equestrian Order, till *Titus* filled that Post under his Father *Vespasian*, as we are told by *Suetonius*, in *Tito*, and *Pliny*, in the Preface to his *Natural History*, dedicated to *Titus*. But the Prefects invested with the greatest Power were the *Prefects of the Camps*. This Post was first instituted in the Time of the Kings, as we find in *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. iv. where he mentions the *Prefects of the Camps* of *Tarquin*. The Office of these Prefects was anciently, to mark out a proper Place for the Camps; to regulate the Tents and Baggage; to see proper Care taken of the Sick; with many other important Charges, collected by *Vegetius*, lib. ii. c. 10. But under the Emperors their Power was extravagantly great, being generally lodged in the *Prefect*
of

Riches ; and though he was ever adding to the Bulk of his Possessions, he was perpetually grasping after more. He began to calumniate the Friends of the late Emperor ; and those

of the Pretorians : So that these two Prefectures are often confounded in History.

The *Legates* were chosen to assist the Commander in Chief, whether *Pretor* or *Consul* ; as the *Master of the Horse* was an Assistant to the *Dictator*. They were sent at the Head of great Detachments on important Services, and commanded the whole Army in the General's Absence. They cannot be better expressed in *English*, than by the Term of *Lieutenant-Generals*.

The *Pretors* were military Governors of Provinces, and consequently had the chief Command of the Armies in the respective Countries where they presided. These, before the Times of the Emperors, were styled sometimes *Prætores*, sometimes by a more general Title, *Imperatores*.

As the *Roman* Constitution was chiefly Military, the Officers of the Civil Government were distinguished by the same Titles as those in the Army ; which makes it necessary to add a Word or two concerning them in the same Order.

Romulus divided his Citizens into three Tribes ; each of which he subdivided into ten *Curiaë*, or *Wards*. These were again subdivided into *Decuries* ; and the Heads of these last were called *Decurions*. The Senators of the *Roman* Colonies had likewise this Title. Besides which, under the Emperors we read of Officers at Court called *Decurions of the Palace*, and others *Decurions of the Bed-chamber*.

I find no Mention of any Civil Magistrate, under the Title of a *Centurion* ; for the Alderman of every *Curia* or *Ward* was called a *Curio*, the *Centuries* being nothing but *Hundreds* selected out of each Tribe to give their Votes at the Election of principal Magistrates in the *Campus Martius* ; which Elections were therefore termed *Comitia Centuriata*.

Of the *Tribunes of the Commons* we have spoken before in the Introduction. I shall only remark here, that they were assisted in their Judicial Office by Under-Magistrates called *Ædiles of the Commons* ; whose Business it was to
super-

who were richest and of the best Families, he endeavoured to render most suspected; that making them formidable to the young Prince, he might persuade him to cut them off, and

superintend Public Buildings, rectify Weights and Measures, and suppress Disorders of several Kinds. There were other *Military Tribunes with Consular Power*, created to pacify the Commons when they stood up for their Share in the Consular Dignity: But when the Commons obtained the Privilege of having one of the Consuls chosen out of their Order, the Office of these Tribunes was soon discontinued.

The Office of *Prefect of the City*, called also *Custos urbis*, *Guardian of the City*, was (according to *Tacitus*, Ann. vi. c. 11.) created by *Romulus*. The Intent of their Institution was, that no Disturbance might gain Head at Home for want of a proper Officer to rule the City during the Absence of the Supreme Magistrates. *Livy* mentions something of this kind, lib. iv. But *Augustus Cæsar* raised the Dignity to that degree, that *Suetonius* attributes the Invention of this Prefecture to him. *Tacitus* and *Eusebius* both affirm, that *Messala* was the first *Prefect of the City* under *Augustus*; but add, that he relinquished the Office a few Days after he had accepted it. The Power of this Prefect, under the Emperors, was very great, and extended to one hundred Miles from the City. Besides him there was another, called *Præfectus vigilum*, *Prefect of the Watch*, to guard against Thieves and Incendiaries. And as the general Term *Prefect* signifies a Governor of any kind, we find it applied to several other Offices, too numerous and needless to be inserted here.

The Title of *Legates* was given not only to Ambassadors, but to Deputies or Vice-Governors under the Consuls, Pretors, &c. Some of them had the Government of Provinces themselves in the Time of the Emperors, as we shall shew in another Place.

It remains only to speak of the *Pretors*. This Office, together with that of the *Ædiles curules*, *Ediles of State* (who were elected out of the Nobility, and had the Care of the Temples, and the Inspection of public Games) was created in the Year of the City 390, when the Plebeians first obtained a Share in the Consulate. The first Pretor was chosen out of the Nobility; but soon after the Commons

thereby give him an Opportunity and Power of seizing their Fortunes. The Youth was awed at first by the Memory of his Father, and the Reverence he paid his Friends ; but at length Fortune, as it were an evil Genius, fascinated his Reason, and push'd him on to Wickedness, to which his modest and courteous Disposition had been hitherto averse : For there happened, in a little time, the following Incident.

A Conspira-
racy to as-
sassinate
*Commo-
dus.*

Lucilla, the eldest of all *Commodus*' Sisters, had been formerly married to *Lucius Verus*, the Emperor ; whom *Marcus* had taken as his Partner in the Empire, and to strengthen the Alliance, had given him his Daughter, as the most likely Cement of Concord and Amity. After the Death of *Lucius*, his Widow, who

put in for their Share of the Honour, and obtained it. His Office was to administer Justice in the City during the Absence of the Consuls. About one hundred and ten Years after, another Pretor was added, who was to take Cognizance of all Causes relating to Foreigners. The Number in process of Time was augmented to eight. *Julius Cæsar*, to pleasure his Favourites (as *Dio* relates, l. xlii.) made them ten, afterwards twelve, at last sixteen, which Number *Augustus* retained ; and obliged his Successor *Tiberius* to swear he would never exceed it. But *Claudius* increased them to eighteen. Their Pretors not only were empowered to appoint Guardians for Pupils, to delegate Judges for criminal Matters and the Determination of private Causes, but had also the ordering of public Sports and Races ; as may be plainly gathered from many Passages in *Juvenal*. The Command of Armies, and the Government of the lesser Provinces, was committed to the Pretors ; who divided them by Lot, as the Consuls did the Provinces of greater Importance. The Pretor's Tent in the Army, and his Judgment-Hall in the City, were called the *Prætorium* ; which Appellation obtained ever after, and the Life-Guards of the General or Emperor were from thence called *Prætorians*.

still

still retained all the Ensigns of Royalty, in the same Manner as when her late Husband was living, was given by her Father to *Pompeianus*; nor had *Commodus* ever made the least Infringement on his Sister's Honours: She still sat on an Imperial Throne in the Theatres, and kept up the usual State of having Fire¹ carried be-

¹ This was esteemed a very sacred Honour, and permitted to none but the Imperial Family. It seems very probable, that the *Romans* borrowed this Rite from the *Persians*, either immediately when they stretched their Conquests beyond the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, or mediately by the *Greeks*. *Xenophon* tells us of this Custom among the *Persians*. And *Quintus Curtius*, in his Description of *Darius's* March against *Alexander*, gives a beautiful Account of this pompous Ceremony, where the Priests carried the *sacred and eternal Fire* before the King, as a lively Symbol of the Duration and Brightness of his Kingdom. *Herodotus* assures us, Fire is one of the principal Deities adored by the *Persians*. And so holy was it deemed, that the Priests who bore it, were commonly spared in a general Slaughter. Hence the same Author observes (lib. viii.) that the *Persians*, when they formed a Stratagem of surprising the *Greek* Ships at *Artemisium* under the Command of *Themistocles*, resolved to cut the Enemy all off to a Man, saying, Ἐδεὶ δὲ μὴδὲ ἸΥΠΟΘΡΟΝ ἐκφυγόντα ἀβύσσῳ δαί. Not even a FIRE-BEARER should escape.

It is extremely difficult to conjecture, when the Ceremony of carrying Fire was first introduced among the *Romans*. I mean the Fire here mentioned; for the *Prætor batillus*, *Censer of Coals*, mentioned by *Horace*, Sat. V. lib. i. among the Honours of the Pretor, has no relation to the Ceremony we are speaking of, though falsely supposed to be the same by some Commentators.. I do not remember to have met with any Mention of it in any *Roman* Writer besides our Author, either in *Greek* or *Latin*; except in the Life of *Marcus* the Emperor, written by himself; where, speaking of the Pomp of a Court, among other Symbols of Empire he mentions *Lamps*; by which, if he means (as the learned *Lipsius* is of opinion, in his Notes on *Tacitus*) the Ceremony of *Fire-bearing*, 'tis a plain Indication, not only of its being a received Custom,

fore her, whenever she appeared in publick. But when *Commodus* had taken a Wife, *Crispina* by Name, and she necessarily began to claim Precedence, as became the Consort of the reigning Sovereign; *Lucilla* was inwardly piqued at the Respect paid to the new Empress, and looked upon it as a Diminution of her own State. Tho' she conceived Thoughts of seizing on the Imperial Dignity, she feared to communicate her Designs to *Pompeianus* her Husband, knowing him to be too well affected to *Commodus*, to bear the least Hint of such an Intention. She therefore founded the Inclinations of *Quadratus*, a Youth of good Birth and Fortune, with whom she was suspected of secretly carrying on a criminal Conversation; and continually lamenting in his hearing the Indignities she suffered, she at length impelled the young Man to enter into Measures fatal to himself and the whole Senatorian Order: For, with some of the principal Senators, he formed a Conspiracy, and prevailed upon *Quintianus*, a young Man who was also of the Senate, and of a bold enterprizing Spirit, to conceal a Dagger in his Bosom, and wait a fit Opportunity to assassinate the Emperor; adding, that himself would take care to manage the rest, and settle every thing by pecuniary Largeesses. *Quintian* posted himself in the Passage to the Amphitheatre, which, be-

but that the Fire meant was an Assemblage of Lamps carried before the Imperial Family in Processions. His Words are: " τί δυνάτ' ἐστὶ ἐν αὐλῇ βιῶντα μήτε δορυφορήσεως χεῖρ' ἔχειν, μήτ' ἐδούλων σαρκεωτῶν, μήτε λαμπάδων καὶ ἀνδριάντων τοίωνδέ τινων καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ κόσμῳ. *A Man may live at Court, and not want the Attendance of Guards, nor Laticlavian Vests, nor Lamps, and Statues, with all the other Apparatus of Pomp and Equipage.*

ing somewhat dark, he thought would favour his Attempt, and give him Time to get off undetected. When *Commodus* was in the Entrance, he rushed out suddenly against him with a naked Dagger, and told him aloud, That what he was about to do was by the Direction of the Senate; but instead of giving the immediate Blow, he took up so much Time in insulting him with Words, and presenting the Weapon, that he was seized by the Guards, and suffered the just Punishment of his Imprudence, in rather declaring than executing his Design, and thereby giving Time for himself to be taken by his own Information, and the Emperor to escape by being forewarned.

This was the first Rise of that Hatred *Commodus* conceived against the Senate; for these Words sunk deep into his Breast, and he looked upon the whole Body of Senators ever after as his common Enemies, never forgetting what *Quintian* had uttered the very Moment he was going to attack him. This was likewise a good Excuse and sufficient Pretence for *Perennius*; who advised the Monarch to cut off or degrade all who were invested with any considerable Power, that himself might seize on their Fortunes, and so become with Ease the richest Man of the Age. *Perennius*, being impowered to make a strict Examination into the Conspiracy, not only put to Death the Emperor's Sister, and every one else concerned in the Plot; but by an indiscriminate Severity, under Pretence of Zeal for his Sovereign, he took off great Numbers whom he thought envious of his Greatness, condemning them even upon the slightest Suspicion.

Perennius's Cruelty.

Perennius having thus dispatched all those of whom *Commodus* stood in awe, and who loved him with a kind of paternal Affection, and had a sincere Regard for his Safety, he kept the Emperor himself under Fear; and presuming on his Power, entertained Thoughts of obtaining the Imperial Purple. He first persuades *Commodus* to give the Command of the Forces in *Illyrium* to his two Sons, both very young. Then, while himself kept amassing immense Wealth, in order to bribe the Army at Home into Treason, his Sons, in the mean time, collected Forces in Secret, that when their Father should have dispatch'd *Commodus*, they might seize the Government in those Parts. But their Schemes were detected in a very miraculous Manner.

Capitoline
Games.

The Romans hold a sacred Contention in Honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*^m. At these public

^m The first *Capitoline Games* were instituted by *Camillus*, about 387 Years before the *Christian Æra*, in Honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, to commemorate yearly the Preservation of the *Capitol* from being surprized by the *Gauls*, after they had taken and burnt the City.

But the *Capitoline Games* here meant were a more noble Sort, called *Capitolini agones*, *Capitoline Contentions*, instituted about ninety Years after CHRIST, by *Domitian*, who presided in Person (as *Suetonius* relates) with Sandals on his Feet, cloathed in a purple *Greek Cloak*, and wearing a Crown of Gold on his Head, in which were the Images of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. The Arch-Priest, and all the College of the Priests of the *Flavian* Family, sat by him in the same Habit, except that in their Crowns was his own Image among the rest. The Contendants were Poets, Musicians, Riders, *Athletæ*, Orators in *Greek* and *Latin*; and even young Women ran Races. The Prizes were Crowns, Collars, and other Honours, bestowed on the Victors by the Emperor's own Hands. These Games were exhibited every five Years; and became so celebrated, that

Games are exhibited a Variety of Spectacles, and Trials of Art, Strength, and Activity, amidst an innumerable Conflux of People from all Parts, as is reasonable to suppose, at a Time when the Queen of Cities is celebrating the great Feast of her principal God. Among the rest of the Priests, whose Attendance in Order this annual Solemnity requires, the Emperor presides, and commonly proposes and awards the Prizes. When *Commodus* was come down into the Orchestra, and seated on a royal Throne, to give Audience and determine the Pretensions of the principal Antagonists, the Theatre being crowded with Spectators, and every one having taken his Seat in just Order according to his Rank and Authority ; before any thing was either uttered or acted on the Stage, a Man, habited like a Philosopher, with a Staff in his Hands, and a Bag hanging over his half-naked Shoulders, ran in, and standing in the Center of the Stage, beckon'd with his Hand for Silence ; which when the Audience granted, he thus began.

“ This is not a Time for you, O *Commodus*,
 “ to spend in public Shews and Diversions. This
 “ Moment the Sword of *Perennius* is at your
 “ Throat, and unless you guard against the
 “ Danger, not approaching but present, your
 “ Fall is inevitable, though unseen. His Mo-
 “ ney is already actually employed in buying
 “ your Destruction, and his Sons are this Instant

that the Computation of Time by *Lustres*, that had obtain'd till then, began to be discontinued ; and the *Romans* counted by Quintennial *Capitoline Games*, as the *Greeks* used to do by *Olympiads*, which were Quadriennial.

“raising Sedition among your Troops in *Illyrium*. Beware, or perish.”

When he had thus spoken, whether moved by some supernatural Impulse, or excited by the Desire of Fame to so bold an Undertaking, as he was before in a mean and obscure Condition; or whether it was, that he hoped an ample Reward for his strange Information; whatever was his Motive, he struck *Commodus* with Astonishment; and the whole Audience suspected what he said might be true, though they pretended not to credit it. But *Perennius* ordered him to be immediately apprehended, and burnt, as a Mad-man and an Asserter of injurious Falsehoods. Thus he suffered for his ill-timed Freedom. But they who attended on the Emperor's Person, and seemed to be well affected to his Interest, and had long hated *Perennius* (for his Pride and Insolence were grown intolerable) thinking they had found a lucky Occasion, employed it in representing him as a dangerous Person. And Fate had so decreed, that *Commodus* was to escape the Snare; and *Perennius* and his Sons to perish in their Treason.

Perennius
and his
Son put
to Death.

For not long after, some of the Soldiers found Means to slip away, unknown to *Perennius's* Son, and bring with them to *Rome* Pieces of Money, on which was the Image of *Perennius*: These they shewed to *Commodus*; and, having acquainted him with the Secrets of the Conspiracy, were liberally rewarded for their Information. While *Perennius*, though Prefect, was ignorant of what was done, and expecting nothing of that Nature, *Commodus* sends proper Persons by Night to take off his Head^a. This

^a *Dio* gives a different Reason for *Perennius's* Death, ascribing

done, he dispatches, with all possible Expedition and Secrecy, Messengers to *Perennius's* Son; who, taking the shortest Way, came upon him before he had the least Intimation of what had been done at *Rome*, and presented him with a Letter, written in a friendly Style, from the Emperor; wherein he gave him Hopes of greater Preferments, and ordered him to come to *Rome* immediately. The young Man, not dreaming of the Design, and knowing nothing of his Father's Death (for the Messengers told him, his Father had sent the same Orders by Word of Mouth, and would have written himself, but that he thought the Emperor's Letters sufficient) complies with their Orders without the least Suspicion; and tho' inwardly vexed, at leaving his Enterprizes unfinished, yet trusting to his Father's Power, which he thought still existing, he sets out on his Return. But when he came to *Italy*, he was immediately put to Death pursuant to the Emperor's Order. Such was the End of *Perennius* and his Son °.

ascribing it to a Sedition among the Forces in *Britain*; from whom 1500 Darters were dispatched to *Rome*, to accuse *Perennius* of Treason. And *Lampridius* agrees with him in the same Account.

° Either the Copies are mutilated here, or *Herodian* has forgotten himself; for tho' *Lampridius* mentions but one Son of *Perennius*, who, he says, had the Honour of gaining several Victories in *Sarmatia*; yet our Author expressly told us, the Army in those Parts was commanded by *Perennius's* two Sons; but we have only an Account of the Death of the eldest, without one Word of what became of his Brother; though he had previously inform'd us, that, ἐχρή:—τὸν Περέννιον σὺν τοῖς παισὶ διαλεῖσθαι κακῶς. It was ordained,—that *Perennius*, with his SONS, should miserably perish.

Commodus, after this, committed the Administration of Affairs to two Prefects, thinking it a Trust too important to be lodged in a single Person. This Method he took, to guard against any future Attempts upon the Throne, by equally dividing the Power between two Ministers, each of whom might be a Check upon the Measures of his Colleague.

Rebellion
of *Maternus*.

But not long after, another Rebellion was formed against him. One *Maternus*, who had formerly been a Soldier, but a daring and notorious Offender, having deserted his Post in the Army, and persuaded others to follow his Example, in a short time collected a great Number of desperate and abandon'd Fellows; and at first scouring the Country, and ransacking the Villages, lived on Plunder. But growing rich, and encreasing the Number of his Profligates, by promising large Rewards, and a Share in all they took, he began to be formidable; and his Crew was no longer look'd upon as a Gang of Robbers, but an Army of Enemies. They had now made themselves Masters of many great Towns, and forcibly breaking open Prisons, and rescuing all that were detained in them without Distinction, be their Crimes ever so heinous; and not only freeing them for the present, but promising them total Impunity and Protection; by these kind Offices, they won great Numbers to their Party. In this licentious Manner they ran through all the Country of the *Celtæ*^p, and

^p A Country in the South-west Part of *France*. The chief Town now in it is *Bordeaux*.

Iberians^a, and took several very great Cities, some of which they burnt, others they plundered and left.

Commodus, being informed of these Things, was exceeding angry. He sends Letters of Reprimand to the respective Governors, of these Nations; charging them with Remissness in their Duty, and threatening to punish their Negligence with the utmost Severity. At the same Time, he orders an Army to be got ready to march against the Rebels: Who hearing that Forces were raising against them, judged it proper to evacuate the Countries they had wasted; and having divided themselves into small Bodies, by secret Marches, through rugged Ways, unpassable by any considerable Numbers, they, in separate Parties, got all into *Italy*. And now *Maternus* conceived bolder Designs, and was not without Hopes of getting Possession of the Empire. For since his former Enterprizes had succeeded beyond the most sanguine Expectations, he thought it his Duty, either by some noble Attempt, to complete his good Fortune; or else, as he had once entred into Peril, to meet his Fate with Intrepidity, and if he must fall, not to fall without Honour. But as he judged his Power insufficient to engage with the Emperor in the open Field, he was loth to trust his Fortune to the Decision of a public Battle (for he reckoned the whole *Roman* People, and particularly the Guards, to be still well affected to *Commodus*) but hoped to succeed by Craft and Policy; and accordingly made Choice of the following Stratagem.

^a Part of *Spain*, on the River *Ebro* (anciently call'd *Iberus*) containing *Saragosa*, *Castile*, &c.

At the Beginning of the Spring, every Year, the *Romans* perform a pompous Procession on a set Day, in Honour of the *Mother of the Gods*^r; at which every Family's costly Ornaments

^r She was called by several Names and Titles, as *Cybele*, *Rhea*, *Ops*; the *Dindyman*, *Idæan*, *Berecynthian*, and *Phrygian Mother*; the *Mother of the Gods*, the *great Goddess*, &c. and is by Mythologists (as *Lucretius*, lib. ii.) taken for the Earth. She was the Wife of *Saturn*, and Mother of *Jove*. Her Image was crowned with Towers, Castles, and Houses; and her Priests, who were all *Phrygian Eunuchs*, danced at the Procession in a very odd extravagant Manner, making a confused Noise with Pipes, Drums, Cymbals, and Horns; to commemorate the Preservation of her Son *Jupiter*, by the *Curetes* and *Corybantes*; who by sounding these Instruments at his Birth, and thereby drowning the Cries of the Infant, saved him from being devoured by his Father *Saturn* [or *Time*] who before used to eat all his Children as soon as born. The *Megalensian Games*, which were those held in Honour of this Goddess, were (according to *An-tias*) the first scenical Sports exhibited at *Rome*.

However odd and fantastic those Dancing-Festivals among the Heathens may seem to us Moderns; I cannot but observe, there is in them a strong Resemblance of some in use among the *Hebrews*. In the Institution of the *Feast of Booths* (*Levit. xxiii. 39.*) it is commanded תָּחֲנוּ אֶת־יְהוָה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים. *Ye shall dance the Dance of the Lord seven Days.* The Word תָּחֲנוּ there used, signifies to twist and writhe the Body into a Variety of odd Postures, as Men elevated with enthusiastic Transports. In *Psal. cvii. 27.* the same Word is used to express the Staggering of drunken Men. And in *1 Sam. xxx. 16.* the *Amalekites*, after their Conquest, are represented eating, drinking, וְדָוִד מְכַרְכֵּר בְּכָל־עֵץ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה. *And David jumped about like a Ram or Goat with all [his] Might before the Face of Jehovah.* His Wife despised this strange Behaviour, thinking it low, and rebuked him for skipping about so indecently before the Servant-Maids: But we find the Royal Enthusiast far from excusing himself, and rather glorying in his religious Transports at the Procession.

Now

and superb Furniture, the treasured Relicks and rich Moveables of Princes; in a word, every thing extraordinarily valuable or curious in Nature or Art, is brought forth to grace the Solemnity. A Liberty without Restraint is allowed for all kinds of Shews and Diversions; and every one is permitted to change his Habit, alter his Countenance, and appear in any Character that shall suit his Humour: Nor is there a Badge

Now whether we account for the Resemblance from the similar Nature of Enthusiasm in general; or whether we suppose it possible, that the Heathens might be acquainted with the *Jewish* Rites at their Festivals, and adopt some of them into their own Worship, corrupting and mingling them with the Castration of their Priests (perhaps a corrupt Imitation of Circumcision) and other barbarous Customs of their own, thereby improving as it were on the Madness of the Ceremonies; or whether the *Hebrew* Rites themselves were only an Alteration or Reformation of the Pagan; 'tis certain, that many of the *Jewish* Ceremonies, were as unaccountable and strange to the Reason of our Times, as the extravagant Customs of the Heathen: Nor can we ridicule or despise the latter, without at the same time bearing very hard on the former. Even the frantic Behaviour of the Priests of this Goddess, in their mad Processions at her Festivals, so comically described by *Juvenal*, Sat. vi. is equalled by the Phrenzy of the *Jewish* Prophets; who, among other odd Customs, used sometimes to strip themselves naked when they prophesied: And we are told (1 *Sam.* xix. 24.) that the King himself, in his Fit of prophetic Inspiration, did the same. Nor is the Similitude conspicuous only in the religious Ceremonies of the *Jews* and Heathens; but it appears as plain in the several Accounts of the political Advantages made of their Religion by their respective Rulers. To mention one Instance: What two Stories can be more alike, than that of *Romulus* procuring Wives for his new Citizens, by seizing the *Sabine* Virgins at a religious Festival; and that of the *Benjaminites* (*Judges* xxi.) snatching the young Women of *Shiloh*; who (as it is in the Original) were capering about like mad People at one of the *Dancing-Fests* of *Jehovah*?

of Authority, or Robe of State, but any One may assume at Pleasure, and represent what Office or Quality he fancies ; inſomuch, that it is hard to diſtinguiſh between the true and the counterfeit Perſonages. This was by *Maternus* judged a proper Conjunction to act his covert Treason. He reſolved to diſguiſe himſelf and his Followers in the Dreſs of the Emperor's Life-Guards ; and hoped, that carrying Spears in their Hands, and mixing with the Guards who marched in the Proceſſion, they might eaſily paſs for thoſe they perſonated ; and while no one ſuſpected any Attempt of that Nature, he, being admitted to be near the Emperor, as one of his Attendants, might fall upon him on a ſudden, and diſpatch him. But a Diſcovery being made by ſome of his Accomplices, who entred the City before the Time appointed, and informed of the Plot (This they did through Envy, as they could not bear the Thoughts of having him for their Maſter and Monarch, who was juſt before but a principal Robber) *Maternus* himſelf was apprehended before the Feſtival, and beheaded ; and the reſt of the Conſpirators brought to condign Punishment. *Commodus*, after ſacrificing to the Goddeſs, and returning her Thanks for his Preſervation, celebrated the Feaſt, and with great Gladneſs attended her Image in the Proceſſion ; while the People made public Demonſtrations of double Joy, in Honour of the Goddeſs, and for the happy Deliverance of their Emperor.

Story of
the Mo-
ther of the
Gods.

Here it may not be amiſs, for the ſake of thoſe among the *Greeks* who are unacquainted with the Story, to mention the Reaſons we have gathered from Hiſtorians, why the *Romans* perform

form such peculiar Acts of religious Worship to this Goddess. Her Image (as they tell us) fell from *Jupiter*. What is the Material, or who was the Artist, is unknown; nor will they have it the Work of a human Hand. We are told, it dropt down from Heaven upon a Place in *Phrygia* called *Pessinus*; that the Name was given to the Place from the Image *falling* from Heaven, and being first seen there. But I find the Name otherwise accounted for in other Authors; who report, that a War arose between *Ilus* the *Phrygian*, and *Tantalus* the *Lydian*; relating, as some say, to certain Roads; or, as others, concerning the Rape of *Ganymede*; that the Victory was for a long while equally doubtful on both Sides; that in either Party great Numbers *fell*; and from that Slaughter the Place derived its Name. There is likewise a Tradition, that *Ganymede* was lost there, being torn asunder by his Brother and his Lover, each forcibly pulling him to himself; and when his Body could no where be found, the Boy's Sufferings were sufficient to get him canonized, and his Rape attributed to *Jupiter*: Whence sprang that common Fable, of *Jupiter's* seizing *Ganymede*, and carrying him into Heaven. In this very *Pessinus* the *Phrygians* anciently performed *Orgies*, or odd religious Rites, at the River *Gal-lus*; whence the castrated Priests of this Goddess are called *Galli*. But when the *Roman* State increased, the Oracle told them, their Power should last, and continually grow greater, if they sent and fetch'd the *Pessinuntian Deity* into their Territory. They presently dispatched Ambassadors into *Phrygia* to request the Image; which they easily obtained, by representing to them,

them, how the *Romans* were related to the *Phrygians* by lineal Descent from *Æneas* their Countryman. The Image was brought by Sea, and arrived at the Mouths of the *Tiber*; which the *Romans* used as Havens for their Navy; when, on a sudden, the Vessel stood still by the divine Power of the Deity: Nor could the whole *Roman* People, with their united Strength, stir it from the Mud where it stuck, till a Priestess of the Goddess *Vesta* was brought. This Maid was accused of having polluted that Vow of perpetual Virginity, she was bound to preserve by the Laws of her Order; and as her Trial approached, she entreated the People, to submit the Proof of her Innocence to the Decision of the *Pessinuntian Goddess*. Having untied her Zone, she wades to the Prow, and after praying aloud, That if her Honour was unblemished, she might have Power to draw the Ship; she fastens her Zone, and pulling it gently, the Ship immediately followed, to the Astonishment of the *Romans*; who beheld at once the miraculous Power of the Goddess, and the immaculate Chastity of the Vestal. Thus much I thought proper to relate of the famous History of the *Pessinuntian Goddess*; a little too ostentatious, perhaps, yet not altogether unserviceable to those, who are not thoroughly acquainted with the *Roman* Story. But to return.

Pestilence
at Rome.

Commodus, after his Escape from *Maternus's* Treason, kept a greater Number of Guards about his Person, and came abroad very seldom; but spent most of his Time in the Suburbs, or at his Imperial Seats in the Country, more distant from *Rome*; where he gave himself up to Idleness, never troubling himself

with

with the public Administration of Justice, or any Offices becoming a Sovereign. It happened that a pestilential Distemper about this Time spread through *Italy*, but raged most at *Rome*; by reason of the great Number of Inhabitants, and that Multitude of People continually flocking thither from every Quarter. The Mortality was very great both among Men and Beasts. The Emperor, at the Advice of several Physicians, retired to *Laurentum*. For this, being a Country of a cooler Air, and shaded by a great many Woods abounding with Laurels (whence the Place took its Name) seemed the most likely Refuge from the Contagion; inasmuch as the sweet Smell of the Laurel, and the pleasant Shades of the Trees, are reckoned good Preservatives against the Infection of the Air. Wherefore those who lived in and about the City, advised by the Physicians, filled their Nostrils and Ears with sweet Unguents, and continually made use of Perfumes and Spices. For it is a received Opinion, that the Fumes and Odours of aromatic Remedies stop up the Pores of the Body, and hinder the Admission of pestilential Air; or if not applied soon enough to prevent its Entrance, yet are capable of suppressing its morbid Quality by their superior Virtues. The Distemper, nevertheless, raged most terribly, and was very fatal to the human Species, and all kinds of Creatures conversant with Men.

At the same Time also the City was distressed with a Famine, which owed its Rise to the following Cause^f. There was one *Cleander*, a

^f *Cleander* was *Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts*, or Emperor's Life-Guards, a Place of great Trust and Authority.

Phrygian by Parentage, and of that sort of People, that are publickly set to Sale by a common Cryer. This Man being brought up with *Commodus*, was so much honoured by him, as to fill up many Places of Trust and Power. He was one of his Body-Guards ; had the Care of his Bed-chamber ; and at last, the chief Command of the Soldiers. His excessive Wealth and Luxury excited in him Hopes of attaining to the Imperial Dignity. For amassing prodigious Sums of Money, and buying up and hoarding large Quantities of Corn, he hoped to purchase the Favour of the People and Soldiers (if he could first plunge them into Want

Papirius Dionysius at the same Time was *Prefect of the public Granaries* ; whose Office was to inspect and regulate the Distribution of Corn. It was no hard Matter for these two Officers, by a sinister Collusion, to cause a Dearth, or at least aggravate one, that existed already. For the great Quantities of Corn brought to *Rome* from the several Provinces were repositied in the public Storehouses, for the Subsistence of the Soldiers and poor Plebeians ; and the Surplusage exposed to Sale. Frequent Distributions of Corn were made by the Emperors amongst the People, especially in Times of Scarceness. *Herodian* therefore tells us, that *Cleander*, Prefect of the Soldiers (to whom the Prefect of the Granaries was accountable) by Peculation and other clandestine Measures, secreted the public Corn into his own private Hoards, and, under pretence of Scarcity, made very sparing Distributions, and greatly enhanced the Price of the Remainder. Tho' *Zonaras* reports, that *Papirius* was the Person in fault, who increased the Dearth out of Spite to *Cleander*. Ὡς αὖ τὸν Κλέανδρον μισήσωσί τε καὶ διαφθείρωσιν ὡς αἴτιον τῆ κακῆ διὰ κλέμματα. That the Populace might be incensed, and cut off *Cleander*, as one whose private Embezzlements were the Cause of their Distress. I mention this to shew, that let either, or both the Ministers be culpable, it was easy for one or two Men to cause a Famine at *Rome* : Which at first appears strange, if not impossible, to those who are unacquainted with the Constitution of the *Roman Government* at that Time.

of Necessaries) by making large and seasonable Gratuities, at a Time when they were labouring under Poverty and Dearth. He built a magnificent *Gymnasium* ^t, and gave the Use of the Bath *gratis* to the Public, as a Bait to lure the People to his Interest. But the *Romans*, who had long hated him, now looking on him as the Cause of their present Calamities, and detesting his unbounded Greediness after Money, at first only treated him with rough Behaviour and foul Language, as he came into the Theatres: At length, while *Commodus* resided in the Suburbs, they came in a Body, and with loud Clamours demanded *Cleander*, in order to put him to Death. This Disturbance soon spread round the suburban Villa, where *Commodus* had retreated; and while he was passing his Time in Ease and Luxury, knowing nothing of the Uproar (for *Cleander* had prevented his having any Information) all on a sudden, when no one suspected it, the Emperor's Horse-Guards, by *Cleander's* Order, made a Sally upon the Malecontents, striking and wounding every body they met. The People, unable to make Resistance, as they were taken at Disad-

^t A public Edifice destined for all kinds of Learning and Exercise, such as Philosophy, Grammar, Physic, Oratory, Dancing, Wrestling, Running, Jumping, Darting, &c. It contained several Baths, cold and hot, Galleries, Portico's, a variety of Walks and Apartments, appropriated to the Colleges of the several Professions. These Buildings were call'd *Gymnasia*, from *Γυμνός*, *Gymnos*, *Naked*; because the Combatants generally contended naked. *Tully*, at the Beginning of his Second Book *De Oratore*, tells us, the *Greeks* were the Inventors of *Gymnasia*; which were first instituted only for Pastimes, but afterwards came to be the Seats of Philosophical Disputations.

vantage, themselves unarm'd, the Guards full arm'd; they on foot, these well mounted; turned about and fled into the City with such Precipitation, that, besides great Numbers who fell by the Sword, and were trodden down by the Horses, they crouded, stamped, wounded, and killed one another; and the Horse advancing upon them, made a terrible Havock: For they pursued them quite to the Gates of *Rome* unopposed; and cut to pieces every one that fell within their Reach, without any Regard or Distinction. But they who remain'd in the City, alarmed at the Misfortune of their Fellow-Citizens, took to their Houses; and having barred their Doors, went up to the Roofs, and thence threw down great Stones and Tiles upon the Horse-Guards. These now suffered, what they had before inflicted; for none of them could come near their Adversaries; who, secured by their superior Posts, annoyed them at a Distance, wounding and knocking down such Numbers, that they could not sustain the Showers of Stones, but were obliged to retire faster than they had advanced: Nor did they escape without considerable Loss; for the Horses stumbled against the Stones, fell down, threw their Riders, and crush'd others with their Weight. While the Slaughter was thus great on both Sides, the Foot-Soldiers quartered in the City, as they hated the Horse, flew with great Eagerness to the Assistance of the People.

During the Heat of this Civil War, No-body durst carry the Account of what had happened to the Emperor, for fear of feeling the Effects of *Cleander's* Resentment; till *Fadilla*, *Commodus's* eldest Sister, ran to her Brother (for her

near

near Relation to him gain'd her free Access) and, with her Hair dishevell'd, threw herself on the Ground, in all the Symptoms of Distress and Horror.

“ While you, O Prince (says she) remain in *Fadilla*
 “ Quiet, ignorant of the impending Danger that informs
 “ threatens you, we, your Royal Family, are *Commodus*
 “ on the Brink of Ruin. You have lost the of the Ci-
 “ *Roman* People, and the greatest Part of the vil War.
 “ Army; and what we never should dread from
 “ the most barbarous Nations, we suffer from
 “ the Hands of our own Countrymen. Your
 “ greatest Favourites, are your worst Enemies.
 “ *Cleander* has armed the Citizens and Soldiery
 “ to your Destruction. In this Civil Commotion,
 “ the People incensed against him, and the
 “ whole Horse espousing his Quarrel, all your
 “ Subjects are in Arms, slaughtering one ano-
 “ ther, and filling *Rome* with the Blood of her
 “ Inhabitants. But the Resentment of either
 “ Party will inevitably fall upon us, unless you
 “ immediately deliver up to Punishment your
 “ wicked Minister; who is the Cause of all that
 “ Destruction and Misery already inflicted on
 “ the unhappy Sufferers, and that dreadful Ruin
 “ which is ready to overwhelm us all, if not
 “ vigorously and speedily prevented.”

Having thus said, she rent her Garments; *Cleander*
 and several of those present, taking Fire at what beheaded
 they heard from the Emperor's Sister, gave
Commodus the Alarm. He was shock'd at his
 Sister's Words; and being frightened at the Dan-
 ger, not at a distance but instant, he sends for
Cleander; who, though not certain, yet suspect-
 ed the News must by this time have reach'd
 the Emperor's Ears. Immediately, on his Ap-

proach, he was seized; and his Head, being struck off, and fastened on a long Spear, was carried out and exposed to public View; a very pleasing and desirable Spectacle to the People. This wholesom Step put a sudden Period to the Evil. Both Parties relaxed their Fury; the Soldiers, at the Sight of his Head for whom they were fighting, and for fear of incurring the Anger of the Prince (for they now perceived he had been imposed on, and these violent Measures were taken contrary to his Sentiments;) and the People, for that they were satisfied with the Punishment of him, who had been the Cause of all their Calamities. However, they carried their Resentment so far, as to take off *Cleander's* two Sons, and all whom they knew to be his Friends; and having dragged their Bodies through the Streets, and done them every Indignity their Rage suggested, they at last threw them into the Common Sewers. Thus miserably perish'd *Cleander* and his Friends; whose End may serve to teach us, the Inconstancy of human Nature, that seemed ambitious (if I may be allow'd the Expression) to shew, by the Example of one Man, that to be raised from the lowest and most abject Condition, to the highest Summit of Power and Fortune; and from thence to be thrown down headlong into the Depth of Misery; is the Effect but of a trivial, momentary, unexpected Nod of Fortune.

Commodus returns to the City. *Commodus*, though he feared the Commotion was not thoroughly still'd, and that the People, thus provoked, might in their Fury attempt some Mischief against his Person; yet at the pressing Persuasion of his Friends, came into the

the City; where he was received with all the Demonstrations of Welcome, and entred the Imperial Palace amidst the joyous Attendance and loud Acclamations of the People. But afterwards, reflecting on the many Dangers of this kind he had experienced, he mistrusted the Honesty of all his Subjects; and giving Credit to the most ill-grounded Calumnies, he inhumanly put to Death great Numbers, even upon the slightest Accusation. Nor had he any Man of Honour or Probity about him; but abandoning all Regard for Virtue, or even common Decency, he gave up his whole Soul to libidinous Pleasures, debasing himself Night and Day in Scenes of the most unmanly and grossest Sensuality. Every sober moral Man, and all who had the least Reputation for good Sense or Learning, he banish'd the Court as dangerous Persons; and in their Room cherished a Sett of Jesters, Buffoons, and Actors of lewd Farces. He was peculiarly fond of driving Chariots at the Races, and fighting with wild Beasts; which kind of brutal Courage, his Sycophants and Parasites extolled as heroic; and by thus soothing his Vanity, prompted him to engage in these low Exercises, with an Eagerness far beneath the Dignity of a Monarch.

About these Times there appeared several Prodigious, surprizing Prodigious. Stars were continually seen in the Day-time; some of which, as if they were loosed from their proper Stations, diffused a long Gleam of Light, and seemed suspended in the midst of the Air. Animals too, of various Kinds, were often brought forth with Forms very different from their own Species, and a variety of unnatural monstrous Parts

Temple
of *Peace*
burnt.

of the Body. But what gave the greatest Shock for the present, and most alarmed all, who looked upon it as an Omen portentive of some dire ensuing Calamity, was, that without any previous Showers, or gathering Clouds, or any thing but a slight inconsiderable Trembling of the Earth; whether by a sudden nocturnal Thunder-bolt, or Fire struck out of the Earth by the forementioned shaking, the whole Temple of *Peace*^v was set on fire, and reduced to Ashes. This was one of the most beautiful and magnificent Edifices in all the City; and contained an immense Quantity of Riches. For besides that it was decorated with a great Number of religious Gifts of Gold and Silver; as it was a strong and well guarded Place, it was made a public Receptacle of Treasures, and every one carried to it his most valuable Effects, as to a Depository of unquestioned Security. But by this sudden Fire, happening in the Night, many who just before were exceeding wealthy, were now reduced to Poverty. So that there was an universal Lamentation, all in general bewailing the public Misfortune; and each in particular mourning his private Loss.

Temple
of *Vesta*
burnt.

The Fire not only utterly consumed the Temple and the whole Circle of Buildings about it, but communicated itself to most of the finest Structures of the City; and among the rest, the Temple of *Vesta* was burnt; and the sacred Image of *Pallas*, to which the *Romans* pay uncommon Veneration, and which (as

^v The Temple of *Peace* stood next to the *Forum*. It was built by *Vespasian* the First, above 100 Years before this Fire happened.

they say) was brought from *Troy*, was exposed to public View : So that the Men of our Age beheld the *Palladium*, never seen by any before since the Time it came from *Ilium* into *Italy* *. For the Vestal Virgins laid hold on it in the Hurry and Confusion, and carried it openly through the *Via Sacra* † into the Imperial Palace. Many other very beautiful Parts of the City suffered greatly by the Fire ; which increased and spread several Days, wasting and destroying all it met ; nor did it cease or intermit, till some violent Showers of Rain falling suppressed its Fury ; which made them of those Times refer the whole Accident to the miraculous Power of the Gods ; who, they believed, first inflicted, and afterwards, by their unexpected Interposition, put a Stop to the spreading Evil. Nor were there wanting, who interpreted it as an Omen ; saying, the Temple of *Peace* destroyed by Fire, must certainly portend ensuing Wars. And indeed the Event of Affairs that followed (as we shall shew) seemed to confirm their Prognostication.

As the City thus groaned under such Loads *Commodus* of various Misery, the *Roman* People now no longer beheld *Commodus* with their wonted Affection ; *Commodus* calls himself *Hercules*.

* The *Pontifices*, or Chief Priests, and the *Vestal* Nuns, had frequent Access to it, but none besides.

† i. e. *Holy-Street* ; a Street in *Rome* so call'd, either from its containing a great Number of Churches, and leading to the *Capitol*, or Temple of *Jupiter* ; or (as, *Festus* says, is the Opinion of some Authors) because the Priests carried the Sacrifices of *Jupiter* through this Street to the *Capitol* on the Ides of every Month ; when, according to *Ovid*, *Fast. lib. i.* and *Macrobius, Saturn. lib. i. c. 15.* a large white Ewe-Lamb was sacrificed to *Jupiter*. *Varro, de Ling. Lat. lib. iv.* seems to countenance this last Opinion.

fection; but imputed all these accumulated Evils to his illegal Murthers, and the other Impieties of his Life. For his Actions were no Secrets; nor indeed did he endeavour to make them such: On the contrary, what he was charged with doing at Home, he was daring enough to shew openly to the Public. And to such a pitch of Frenzy and Wantonness was he now arrived, that he disown'd the Name he had from his Father, and, instead of *Commodus*, and the *Son of Marcus*, would be called *Hercules*, and the *Son of Jove*; accordingly, rejecting the Habit of the *Romans*, and the Imperial Robes, he put on a Lion's Skin next his own, and carried a Club in his Hands, and wore over the Skin purple Garments, and embroidered with Gold; to the no small Mirth of Spectators, who could not refrain laughing, to see him imitate the gaudy Finery of Women, and at the same time mimic the hardy Virtues of Heroes. In this kind of Dress he commonly came abroad. He likewise took upon him to alter the Names of the Months, giving them Titles of his own; most of which had some relation to *Hercules*, because he was the most stout and manly. He erected Statues of himself through all the City; one opposite to the Senate-house, holding a bent Bow; that so his very Images might menace Mischief: Which the Senate pull'd down after his Death, and in its Place set up the Effigies of *Liberty*.

At length, throwing off all Sense of Shame, he issued Proclamations for the Exhibition of new public Shews, boasting, that he would kill all kinds of wild Beasts with his own Hands; and challenging the stoutest young Fellows of
the

the Age to single Combat. The Fame of which being spread, People came flocking from all Parts of *Italy* and the confining Nations, to be Spectators of what they had never before either seen or heard; it being given out, that he was so dextrous a Marksman, that whatever he aimed at with Dart or Arrow, he never missed. For he had always with him, as his Instructors, *Parthians* and *Moors*; the former of whom were the most excellent Archers, and the latter the best Throwers of Darts; but *Commodus*, in Dexterity, out-did them all.

When the Time appointed for the Shews was His sur-
come, the Amphitheatre was crouded with ^{prizing}
Spectators; and a *Peridrome*^z had been built ^{Dexterity.}
for *Commodus*, that he might not run the Hazard of engaging with the Beasts in close Fight, but dart or shoot at them from a superior Post; to give Proofs rather of his Dexterity, than Courage. Stags, and Deers, and all other horned Creatures, except Bulls, he ran with, and smote them as he pursued; for intercepting them in their Course, and hitting them with the utmost Nicety and Exactness, he struck

^z The *Amphitheatre* was a large Building, of an oval Figure; it differed from the *Theatre*, as Half from the Whole; the Theatre being of a semicircular Form, only somewhat longer than a just Semicircle; and the Amphitheatre representing two Theatres at the End of one another. Its *Arena* or *Pit* was environed with Seats rising one above another, for the Convenience of Spectators.

The *Peridrome* here mentioned was a temporary Isle, built all round the Arena, with a Row of Columns on the Inside, and a Breast-work without, raised to a convenient Height; from whence *Commodus* might conveniently dart at the Beasts, without Fear of being seized and torn by them.

them

them dead upon the Spot. But Lions, and Panthers, and other strong and fierce Creatures, he ran after in his *Peridrome*, and darted at them from above; nor did any one see him throw a second Dart, or inflict a Wound less than mortal: For as the Creature started with all its Fury, he would hit him in the Forehead, Heart, or wherever he thought fit; never aiming at a wrong Part of the Body, so as to wound without killing. Animals from every Country were collected for him: So that then we had the Sight of all those Creatures, whose Pictures we had gazed at before with great Admiration. The Breed of *India*, *Æthiopia*, and other Regions, unknown to our Fathers, under Southern or Northern Climes, did *Commodus* kill, and shew to the *Romans*; who were all astonished at the unerring Certainty of his Hand. For he sometimes took Shafts pointed in the Form of a Half-Moon, and shot them at *Mauritanian* Ostriches, Creatures that would run prodigiously swift, while their Wings expanded like swelling Sails lighten'd them from the Ground, and made them skim along with incredible Celerity; and hitting the upper Part of their Necks, he cut off their Heads with such surprizing Velocity, that they continued their Course for some time after they had lost their Heads, as if they had suffered no Hurt. At other Times, he would call out one of the Prize-fighters of the *Arena*, and expose him to a Panther, that would run at him with the utmost Fury; but at the Moment she seized him, before she could fasten her Jaws, *Commodus* would hit her with a Dart, kill the Beast, and rescue the Man; the Point of the Weapon exe-

cuting

cutting with quicker Dispatch, than the Edge of her Teeth. At another Time, he would have a hundred Lions, one immediately upon another, sent out of subterranean Dens ; all which he killed with an equal Number of Darts, in such wonderful Regularity, that their Carcases, lying close together, might easily be counted ; and every Spectator see, that not one Dart had been idle.

Thus far his Exploits, tho' not very agree- He com-
able with the Character of a Prince, yet as they mences
carried with them an Air of Excellency, and a Gladiator.
Shew of Manhood, were not displeasing to the
Commonalty. But when he entred the Amphi-
theatre naked, and, furnish'd with the Weapons
of Gladiators, fought single Combats, the Sight
was odious to all the People ; that the Emperor
of *Rome*, descended from so noble a Family,
graced with so many Triumphs of his Father
and Ancestors, instead of taking up the Arms
of a Soldier against the Barbarians and Enemies
of his Country, or wearing the Emblems of the
Imperial Power, should disgrace the high Au-
thority with which he was invested, by appear-
ing in the most shameful and infamous Cha-
racter. 'Tis easy for the Reader to believe, he
had no great Difficulty to conquer his Antago-
nists ; who all yielded upon the first Wounds
they received, afraid to exert their utmost Power
against one, whom they rather looked on in
the Light of a Sovereign than a Combatant.
And so far did his frantic Fits carry him, that
he resolved to leave the Imperial Court, and
remove into the public School of Gladiators.
The Name of *Hercules* pleased no longer, and
he would now be called the Son of a famous
Gladiator

Gladiator deceased; and having cut off the Head of a huge Colossæan Statue, representing the Image of the Sun, which the *Romans* religiously worshipped, and placed it upon his own Statue, he had inscribed on the Pedestal, not any of his wonted Imperial or Paternal Titles, but, instead of *Germanicus*, *The Conqueror of a Thousand Prize-fighters*^a.

A.D. 193.
The Sa-
turnalia.

But the Time drew near, that was ordained to end his Madness, and free the *Roman* Empire from Tyranny. The first Day of the New Year, the *Romans* celebrate a Festival in Honour of *Janus*, the ancient Country-God of *Italy*. For they have a Tradition, that when *Saturn* was dethroned by his Son *Jupiter*, he fled down to the Earth, and was entertain'd by *Janus*; and fearing the Power of his Son, lay conceal'd at his House; whence the *Greek* Name of the Country was altered into one of their own Language; and because *Saturn* there lay hid, instead of *Italy*^b, the Inhabitants called it

^a In *Dio* we find Πρῶτος Πάλης (which should be Πρωτόπαλης) σεκυστόρων. *The Head-Champion of the Secutores*. The *Secutores*, i. e. *Followers*, was one of the Sects of Gladiators; which Commentators, from a mistaken Passage of *Juvenal*, Sat. viii. v. 199. have falsely thought the same with the *Mirmillones*. The *Mirmillo* was a Gladiator armed with a Shield and Helmet, on which was the Picture of a Fish. His Antagonist, the *Retiarius*, had a Net in one Hand, and a Trident in the other; the former to entangle, the latter to kill his Adversary. But the *Secutores*, whose Arms *Commodus* used to wear, were sent in, in the room of a conquer'd Gladiator, to take up his Arms and oppose the Victor. This was the Title *Commodus* inscribed on his Statue, as thinking it redounded more to his Glory, to have conquered the Conquerors a thousand Times.

^b *Timæus*, and *Varro* (according to *Gellius*, lib. ii. c. i.) derive the Name *Italia* from Ἰταλός, *Italus*, an Ox; because ancient *Italy* abounded with great Numbers of Oxen.

Latium;

Latium^c; and upon the same Account, the *Italians*, to this Day, first keep the *Saturnalian* Holy-days, to commemorate the Concealment of the banish'd God, and afterwards celebrate the Feast of the New-year in Honour of *Janus*, his Host; whose Image has two Faces, because in him is both the End of the Old, and the Beginning of the New Year^d. In these Holy-days, which precede the great Feast, and during which the *Romans* pay constant Salutations and frequent Visits to their Friends, and entertain one another with great Mirth and Jollity, sending mutual Presents of Money, and communicating all the good Things both of Land and Sea; and when all the principal Magistrates first appear in their Symbols of State, and annual Purple; *Commodus* resolved, while the City was in the height of Festivity, to come forth, not from the Imperial Palace, as was the Custom, but from the School of Gladiators, wearing their Arms instead of the Imperial Purple, and attended by the whole Gang of Prize-fighters, to make his public Appearance to the People. But having communicated his Design to *Marcia*, the chief of his Concubines, to whom he gave all the Respect and Honour due to a Wife, insomuch that she came short in none of the Dignities of his Empress, except the Ceremony of carrying the Fire before her; at hearing so rash and unbecoming a Resolution, she at first

^c From *Lateo*, *I lie hid*.

^d Hence the first Month of their Year, as divided by *Numa* into twelve Months, was sacred to *Janus*, and from him call'd *Januarius*, *January*. Whereas *Romulus's* Year had but ten Months, the first of which was dedicated to *Mars*, the second to *Venus*, and from her call'd *April*.

fell at his Feet, begging and beseeching him, with Tears, that he would not, by so imprudent a Step, disgrace the *Roman* Empire, and expose himself to Danger, by committing his Safety to a Set of infamous Prize-fighters, to the Dregs of the Vulgar and Scum of Slavery. But, after many Prayers and Remonstrances to no Effect, *Marcia* was forced to retire, weeping at the Unsuccessfulness of her Counsels. When she was gone, he sends for *Lætus* Prefect of his Camps, and *Electus* his Chamberlain; and orders them to make Preparations of a Bed, and all other Conveniences in the Gladi-

appear to the People in the Arms of the Arena. They endeavoured, by Prayers and Intreaties, to dissuade him from his Purpose, so derogatory to the Dignity of his Throne; but he, in a violent Passion, bids them be gone; and goes himself into his Room to take a Nap (for it was his Custom to sleep in the middle of the Day) carrying with him a little Pocket-book, with Leaves made of the Skin of the Linden-Tree, which, by reason of their Fineness, folding easily one over another, may be clasped close, and contained in a small Compass. In this he writes the Names of all he designed to put to Death that Night; the first of whom was *Marcia*, after her *Lætus* and *Electus*, and then a great Number of the Chief of the Senate: For he resolved to dispatch all the Elders of the City, and the Remainder of his Father's Friends; because he was loth to have such grave Personages Inspectors of his shameful Actions; and

and at the same time was willing to take off the most Wealthy, that he might seize upon their Fortunes, and distribute them amongst his Soldiers and Prize-fighters; to engage the former to guard his Person, and the latter to make him Diversion. Having set down the Names of the Condemned, he lays the Book upon the Bed, thinking no one would dare to enter the Room without his Orders.

There was then at Court a little Boy, a mere Infant, who went naked of Clothes, but ornamented with Gold and precious Stones, a piece of Luxury very common among the *Romans*; for all who were famous for high sumptuous

commodus, that his very Name might express the great Love the Emperor had for the Child. He, playing about the Apartments of the Emperor, who was now taken up with bathing and revelling, ran, as usual, into the Bed-chamber; and having taken the Book off the Bed for a Play-thing, carries it out of the Room, and, by some Direction of Providence, meets with *Marcia*, who was herself very fond of the Child. She immediately catches him up in her Arms, and kisses him; and observing the Book in his Hand, she takes it from him, fearing lest the Child might spoil or tear something of Consequence contained in it. But seeing the Emperor's Hand, it excited her Curiosity to examine the Contents; which she soon found to be Sentences of Death; and, to her great Astonishment, saw a long List of the Condemned, at the Head of which was her own Name, fol-

lowed by those of *Lætus* and *Electus*. Upon which, bursting into Tears, “ O brave *Commodus* (says she) are these the Returns of Affection and Love? Is this my Reward for bearing your Affronts and beastly Indignities for so many Years?—But it shall never be, that a drunken Madman shall prevent the Resolves of a Woman in her Senses.” Upon this, she immediately sends for *Electus*, who had frequent Access to her, not only as he had the Care of the Bed-chamber, but (as it was rumour’d) on account of a secret Intrigue between them; and giving him the Book, “ See here (she cries) what a glorious Feast we are like to celebrate!” *Electus*, who was an Egyptian by Birth, and had Subtilty and Courage enough to contrive and execute any great Design, and was by Nature prone to Resentment, having read the List, was struck with Astonishment; but Revenge soon getting the better of Surprise, he shuts the Book, and by one whom he could trust sends it to *Lætus*. He likewise, alarm’d at the Perusal, runs immediately to *Marcia*, as if he was going to concert with her and *Electus* about the Emperor’s Orders relating to the Prize-fighters School. Under this Pretext, they had an Opportunity of consulting, and soon agreed, either to do or suffer something great; for that the Time admitted no long Debate, since the least Delay might prove fatal to them all. They determined, as the safest Way, to give *Commodus* a poisonous Draught; and *Marcia* readily undertook the Task. For she used to mix and administer the first Cup to the Emperor, who thought it drank sweeter from his Mistress’s Hands. According-
ly,

ly, she infuses Poison into a Bowl of fragrant Wine ; and as soon as he came from the Bath, gives it into his Hand. He, in his accustomed amorous Manner, received the Bowl ; and being very thirsty after his frequent Bathings, and customary hunting of Beasts in the Gymnasium, drinks it off without the least Suspicion. When presently a Drowsiness seized him, and having a great Inclination to Sleep, which he took for the Effect of his hard Exercise, he lay down to Rest. *Electus* and *Marcia* ordered every body to withdraw, and go about their private Affairs, lest they might by any Noise disturb the Emperor's Repose. This created no Suspicion, because it was no more than *Commodus's* usual Custom, to fall asleep after hard Drinking : For as he frequently used the Bath, and had several Meals in a Day, he kept no regular Hours for Sleep ; but having devoted himself to numerous and various Scenes of Pleasures, he was so much a Slave to them, that they often engaged his Attendance at their respective Seasons, even against his Inclinations. For some time he rested ; but the Poison operating in his Stomach and Bowels, he was taken with a Dizziness ; and a violent Vomiting ensued ; whether from the Food and great Quantities of Drink he had taken, repelling the Poison, or from the Antidote he had made use of, as the Emperors always do, before they eat, by way of Preservative against Attempts of that Nature. But as he vomited so plentifully, that they were afraid he would bring up all the Poison, and his Recovery prove their Destruction, they, by large Promises, prevail'd upon one *Narcissus*, a young Man of great Spirit and Resolution,

to enter the Emperor's Chamber and strangle him. *Narcissus* runs into the Room; and finding him lying in a languishing Posture, sick with the Poison, and drunk with the Liquor, he, without much Difficulty, grasps him by the Throat, and completes the Murther.

In this Manner ended the Life of *Commodus*, when he had reigned thirteen Years after his Father's Decease. He was a Prince of the most noble Extraction of any of his Predecessors. In Form and Beauty he excelled all the Men of those Times; and with regard to Courage, he seemed inferior to none, especially in Shooting and manual Exercises, had he not contaminated all his Excellencies, by the flagitious Practices above described.

HERODIAN.

BOOK II.

COMMODOUS being taken off in the Man- A.D. 193.
 ner described in the former Book of our
 History, the Authors of his Death, in or-
 der to conceal the Fact from the Guards on
 Duty at Court, wrap'd up the Body in an ordi-
 nary Blanket, and gave it to two of their trusty
 Domestics, to carry it out with seeming Care-
 lessness, as some superfluous Utenfil of the Bed-
 chamber. The Servants executed their Orders,
 and conveyed it safe through all the Guards;
 some of whom were in a drunken Sleep, others,
 though awake, yet were so exceeding drowsy,
 that they nodded against the Spears they held
 in their Hands; the rest never troubled them-
 selves to examine the Bundle, as they took it
 for something into which it concern'd not them
 to inspect. Thus the Body of the Emperor
 was clandestinely carried out of the Court-gate;
 where, befriended by the Night, they put it
 upon a Vehicle, and sent it to the *Aristæum*^a.

^a The *Aristæum* here mentioned was a Mausoleum, or Monument, or (as our Author calls it in another Place) a Temple of the defunct Emperors. There were many of these magnificent Monuments built by several Emperors, but not in the City: For it was expressly forbidden in the

In the mean while *Lætus*, *Electus*, and *Marcia*, concerted together what was best to be done; and the Result was, to spread the Report of his Death; but to give out, that he was carried off by an apoplectic Fit: Which they judged would easily gain Credit, as no one was a Stranger to his Intemperance and Gluttony. However, they thought it necessary, first to pitch upon some Man, advanced in Years, and of a sober honest Character, to succede him in the Empire; that so they might, by him, procure to themselves Impunity, and at the same time let the People respire from that oppressive Tyranny, under which they so long had groaned. No one occurred to their Minds fitter for this Purpose than *Pertinax*; who was by Birth an *Italian*, and in great Reputation for his good Behaviour in Affairs both Military and Civil. He had erected several Trophies, for Victories obtained over the *Germans*, and the Eastern Barbarians; had been Companion to the Emperor *Marcus*, and the General most honoured by him of all in the Army. He was the only one^b *Commodus*

Roman Laws, to bury the Dead in the City; as they thought it both profane and unwholesome. *Commodus's* Corps was secretly conveyed to the Mausoleum of the Emperor *Adrian* at *Putcoli*, a City of *Campania*, on the Sea-coast, about ten Miles to the East of *Naples*. The People assembled in a tumultuous Body about the Palace, demanding his dead Body, that they might drag it about the Streets with an *Uncus*, or *Grapling*; but being told by *Pertinax*, that the Corps was interred, they were at last pacified, though with much Difficulty.

^b To *Pertinax* we must add two more, *Victorinus* and *Pompeianus*. These three had not been murdered. *Dio* tells us, *Pompeianus* lived mostly in the Country, being afflicted with sore Eyes; but that he was present in the Senate-house when *Pertinax* was made Emperor; and that was the first and the last Time *Dio* ever saw him.

had

had left alive of all his Father's honest Friends; whether it was that he revered the old Man's Gravity, or spared him because he was poor: For it was no small Addition to *Pertinax's* other Praises, that, though he had been trusted with greater Commands than any of the rest, he was, notwithstanding, the poorest Officer in the Army.

To this *Pertinax* then, *Lætus* and *Electus*, *Lætus* and with a few others of their Party, went at Mid- *Electus* go night, when the whole House was asleep; and *to Pertinax's* finding the Door fastened, they called up the House. Porter; who, having opened, and seen Soldiers standing there, and *Lætus* with them, who he knew was the Prefect, runs, in the utmost Surprise and Fright, and tells his Master. *Pertinax* ordered them to be admitted, saying, the Evils he had long expected were now arrived. Nevertheless, he continued (they say) in that undisturb'd Composure of Spirit, that he neither leap'd out of the Bed, but remain'd in the same Posture; and when *Lætus* and *Electus* entred the Room, though he thought they were sent to murder him, yet he had Presence of Mind enough to accost them first, without the least Sign of Fear or Dejection in his Countenance.

“ 'Tis long since (says he) that I have ex- Their
 “ pected every Night to meet with this End of Conversa-
 “ my Life; for as I am the only one that am tion.
 “ left of all his Father's Friends, I have often
 “ wondred at *Commodus's* Slowness to take me
 “ off. But why stand ye hesitating any longer?
 “ —Execute your Orders, and rid me at once
 “ of an anxious Life, full of gloomy Hope and
 “ continual Fear.”

To this *Lætus* replied : “ Cease to entertain
 “ Suspicious unworthy yourself and the Digni-
 “ ty of your former Life. The End of this
 “ Visit is not to accomplish your Destruction,
 “ but to procure the lasting Safety both of our-
 “ selves and the whole *Roman* Empire. The
 “ Tyrant is no more ; he has suffered the due
 “ Punishment of his Crimes ; and that Fate he
 “ had designed to inflict on us, we have, with
 “ great Justice, transferred upon himself. We
 “ come now to invest you with the Imperial
 “ Sovereignty, well knowing, the Integrity of
 “ your Life, the Greatness of your Authority,
 “ and the sacred Gravity of your Age, have
 “ rendered you not only most eminently distin-
 “ guished among the Senate, but loved and
 “ honoured by all the People : And we doubt
 “ not but what we now do, will be as agree-
 “ able to their Wishes, as it is conducive to
 “ our own Preservation.”

To all which *Pertinax* rejoined : “ Rather
 “ cease you thus to mock and trifle with an
 “ old Man, endeavouring to fasten on me the
 “ Disgrace of Cowardice, by first deceiving me
 “ with Hopes of Empire, and afterwards per-
 “ petrating your intended Murther.” But *Elc-*
ætus return’d : “ Since you disbelieve our Words,
 “ take this Book, and peruse it. You are not
 “ unacquainted with *Commodus’s* Hand, as you
 “ have frequently read Papers of his writing.
 “ You will soon find what Danger we have ef-
 “ caped, and how far we are from any Design
 “ to deceive or tempt you.” Upon which,
Pertinax read the List ; and trusting to the
 Honour of the Men, formerly his Friends, he
 enquires into the Particulars of what had been
 done,

done, and then gives himself up to their Disposal.

It was judged proper at first to go to the Army, and found the Inclinations of the Soldiers. These *Lætus* undertook to bring over to their Party: For as he was their Prefect, it was natural to suppose they would pay him some Respect. Accordingly, taking with them the rest who were present, they hastened immediately to the Camp. For the Night being far advanced, and the ensuing Day the Feast of the New-Year, they resolved to put their Scheme into practice before the Morning. They therefore dispatched some of their Friends, whom they could trust, to publish aloud, that *Commodus* was dead, and *Pertinax*, his appointed Successor, was on his way to the Camp.

The Report of which so transported the People, that they appeared like Enthusiasts or Madmen. They ran up and down the Streets in a Tumult of Joy, every one carrying the good News to his Friends and Relations; especially such as were invested with Power, or possessed of Riches; for these were never without Fear, that *Commodus* was plotting their Destruction. They ran likewise to the Temples and Altars of the Gods, to return Thanks, breaking out, as they went, into different Cries; some saying, *The Tyrant is dead*; some, *The Prize-fighter is gone*; and others used Terms of a more indecent Nature; all freely uttering now, what, before, the fear of Punishment made them suppress. But the greatest Part of the People flew to the Camp, fearing the Soldiers might be backward in admitting *Pertinax* for their Emperor. For they were apprehensive, that as he

The People rejoice at the Death of *Commodus*.
was

was a Man of great Moderation, the Soldiers, who were accustomed to be the Tools of Tyranny, employed in Rapine and Extortion, would not be very fond of a Sovereign of so contrary a Disposition. This made them flock thither in a Body, in order to force them to a Compliance in case of Refusal. But when they were come to the Camp, *Lætus* and *Electus* entered, bringing *Pertinax* with them; and the Soldiers being assembled, *Lætus* spoke to this Effect.

Lætus's
Speech to
the Sol-
diers.

“ *Commodus* our Emperor is dead of an Apo-
 “ plectic Fit. The Cause of this Death is just-
 “ ly imputable to himself alone. We were
 “ continually offering him good and wholesome
 “ Counsel; which he rejecting, and living in the
 “ Manner you all know, his repeated Excesses
 “ furcharged Nature, and necessarily hurried
 “ him to his destin’d Fate. For the Means of
 “ Death are not one and the same to all Men;
 “ but though the Ways are many and different,
 “ yet they all lead to that one certain End.
 “ To supply his Place, we, together with the
 “ *Roman* People, bring you a Man, whose
 “ Age is venerable, whose Life unblameable,
 “ and whose Military Abilities and Virtue
 “ need no Encomium; since the ancients
 “ amongst you have in the Field seen con-
 “ vincing Proofs enough of the former; and
 “ the rest, during so many Years he has pre-
 “ sided over the City, have had the latter not
 “ only in Honour but Admiration. In this
 “ Man, Fortune now gives you both a good
 “ Sovereign and a kind Father. His Reign
 “ shall bless, not only you, the immediate
 “ Guards of his Person; but those likewise,
 “ who

“ who are now posted on the Banks of Rivers,
 “ and on the remotest Boundaries of the Ro-
 “ *man* Empire; who keep in Remembrance his
 “ well-tryed Worth, so often conspicuous in all
 “ his Actions. Nor shall we now any longer
 “ bribe the Barbarians into Obedience by Mo-
 “ ney : But when they shall reflect on what
 “ they have already felt from the *Romans*, led
 “ by such a Pretor, their own Fear will be a
 “ Motive sufficiently powerful to reduce them
 “ to Subjection.”

While *Lætus* was speaking in this Manner, *Pertinax*
 and the Soldiers stood hesitating, and seem'd a saluted
 little flow of Approbation; the People, unable *Augustus*.
 to contain any longer, saluted *Pertinax* aloud
 by the Title of *Augustus*, called him their Fa-
 ther, and address'd him with every honourable
 Appellation. The Soldiers then, not with the
 same Alacrity, but because they were beset on
 every Side by the Multitude, and were but
 few in Number, and those unarmed, as on a
 Day of universal Festivity, compelled by Ne-
 cessity, seconded the Acclamations of the Peo-
 ple, and saluted him *Augustus*: And having all
 taken the proper Oaths of Allegiance, and per-
 formed the usual Ceremonies of Divine Service,
 the whole People and Soldiery, with Boughs
 of Laurel, attended him quite to the Imperial
 Court.

When he came into the Palace, conducted
 thither (as we have before observed) in the
 Night-time, his Mind was oppress'd with a
 Load of Cares; and though he was a Man of
 great Spirit and Fortitude, he was not without
 Fear, that this Revolution might be attended
 with unhappy Consequents: Not through any
 Prefages

Prefages of Evils which might befall himself (for he had often faced and despised Dangers far greater than the present) but he could not help reflecting on the sudden Change in the Empire, and the Pride of several Senators of the most illustrious Families; who, he suspected, would never agree, that the Imperial Sovereignty should fall, from a Prince so nobly descended, to a Person of a private and low Extraction. For though the Integrity of his Life spoke highly in his Favour, and his Actions in his military Capacity were great and glorious, yet in point of Birth he came very short of the Patricians.

A.D. 194. As soon as it was Day, therefore, he went to the Senate-house; but would not suffer the Fire to be carried before him, nor other Symbols of Royalty to be raised or displayed, till he had learned the Disposition of the Senate. Immediately on his Appearance the Senators, with great Unanimity, paid him all the Tokens of Respect and Homage, saluting him *Augustus*, and Emperor. At first he desired to be excused from undertaking the invidious Burden of Empire, pleading his great Age; and at the same Time alledging, there were many Patricians whose illustrious Lineage rendered them fitter Persons to be invested with the Imperial Purple: And presently taking *Glabrio* by the Hand, he led him forth, and ordered him to be seated on the Imperial Throne. This Man was by Birth the noblest of all the Patricians; for he carried his Pedigree quite up to *Æneas*, the Son of *Venus* and *Anchises*; and had, besides, been twice Consul. But he declined the Honour, by saying to *Pertinax*, “ I myself, whom you
 “ esteem the most worthy, freely resign the
 “ Dignity

“ Dignity to you; and, with the concurrent
 “ Suffrages of all the rest, commit the Imperial
 “ Power into your Hands.” Upon which, the
 whole Senate, with repeated Importunities, and
 a kind of respectful Violence, prevailed upon
 him, not without much Reluctance, to ascend
 the Throne; whence, as soon as he was seated,
 he delivered himself to them in this Manner.

“ The obliging Address, and unexampled Zeal, with which you have so unanimously
 “ consented to invest me in this high Honour, in preference to your own Advantages of
 “ Birth, as they cut off all Suspicion of Flat-
 “ tery, and are so many indisputable Argu-
 “ ments of your good Affection, would in any
 “ other Man excite Courage and Ardour to ac-
 “ cept the great Power conferred; and make
 “ him hope, he with Ease might happily dis-
 “ charge the important Trust of Government
 “ amongst Subjects so kindly prepossess’d in his
 “ Favour. But to me, the Considerations of
 “ this great, this extraordinary Honour, come
 “ attended with all the Weight of Confusion
 “ and Astonishment; and fail not at the same
 “ Time to beget no small Fear and Sollicitude.
 “ For where great Benefits have preceded, it is
 “ very difficult to make a suitable Acknowledg-
 “ ment; because, in Matters of Requit, if
 “ they who have received but little, over-pay
 “ the Kindness, their Liberality is esteem’d, not
 “ as an easy Effect of their large Power, but as
 “ an Instance of their grateful Disposition: On
 “ the contrary, where Favours of a superlative
 “ Nature have been previously conferred, if the
 “ Party obliged fall short in his Returns, the
 “ Narrowness of his Circumstances is not con-
 “ sidered;

The
 Speech
 of *Perti-*
nax to the
 Senate.

“ sidered ; but his want of Ability is mistaken
“ for Ingratitude. I am therefore sensible, how
“ arduous a Task I have before me ; to shew
“ myself worthy the Honour you have given
“ me ; since true Dignity consists not in the
“ being vested with Authority, but in acting
“ in such a Manner as not to disgrace it : And
“ by how much the former Measures have been
“ more flagrantly evil, by so much are Mens
“ Expectations more incited to find themselves
“ bettered in the next Successor. Besides, In-
“ juries are always longest remembred (for what
“ has hurted us, makes a lasting Impression) but
“ the Memory of good Offices generally perish
“ with the Enjoyment. Liberty is not so de-
“ lightful, as Slavery painful. Nor does he,
“ that has the free Enjoyment of his Fortunes
“ secured to him, reckon himself much ob-
“ liged to the Protector, who, he thinks, gives
“ him nothing but what is his own : But, on
“ the contrary, if any one be deprived of his
“ Property, he entertains an everlasting Resent-
“ ment against the Offender. Nor is the
“ greatest Advantage, procured to the whole
“ Community, esteemed any Profit by parti-
“ cular Persons ; because the general Good is
“ but little regarded by Individuals : But who-
“ ever meets with Impediments in his own Ex-
“ pectations, immediately is apt to conclude,
“ that he is quit of all Obligations, and wholly
“ unconcerned in the Prosperity of the Public.
“ Add to all this, that they who have been ac-
“ customed to a luxurious and expensive Course
“ of Life, supported by the extravagant im-
“ mense Largesses of Tyrants, if, compelled by
“ scanty Circumstances, you attempt to reduce
“ them

“ them to a more moderate Way of Living,
 “ will not call this unpleasing Alterative,
 “ sober and prudent Oeconomy; but rather
 “ defame it by the odious Names of Meanness
 “ and wretched Parsimony; never considering,
 “ that all profuse injudicious Donations must
 “ necessarily be supplied by Extortion and Ra-
 “ pine; and, on the other hand, he that wisely
 “ dispenses to every one according to his Me-
 “ rit, without invading the legal Property of
 “ another, by not gratifying any Man’s unrea-
 “ sonable Cravings after enormous Heaps of
 “ ill-gotten Wealth, teaches all the useful Les-
 “ sons of Sobriety and Frugality. As these are
 “ Truths to which you are all no Strangers, it
 “ greatly behoves you to assist me with your
 “ joint Endeavours, esteeming the Administra-
 “ tion of the Government a Charge common to
 “ yourselves, with me; and by making your
 “ own good Hopes conspicuous to the People,
 “ confirm them in theirs, that they are to be
 “ governed by the Counsels of the Wise and
 “ Noble, and not oppressed by the despotic
 “ Power of a Tyrant.”

This Speech of *Pertinax* was highly pleasing
 to the Senate; who expressed their Satisfaction
 in the most affecting Acclamations^c, and paid

^c As there is something remarkable in the usual Accla-
 mations of the *Romans* to their Emperors, I shall present
 the Reader with a few of them made by the Senate to
Pertinax; that by the Form of these he may judge of the
 rest. *Hosti patriæ honores detrahantur. Parricidæ honores*
detrahantur. Parricida trahatur. Hostis patriæ, parricida,
gladiator in spoliario lanictur. Hostis Deorum, hostis Sen-
tus.—Ut salvi simus, Jupiter opt. max. serua nobis Perti-
nacem.—Exercitibus Romanis feliciter. Pietati Senatus fe-
liciter.—Exaudi, Cæsar. Delatores ad leonem. Exaudi,
Cæsar.

him all the Tokens of Honour and Reverence. He was then conducted, first to the Temple of *Jupiter*, and afterwards to those of the other Gods; where having finished the customary Imperial Sacrifices, he returned to the Palace.

Nor was it long, e'er the Fame of what he had said in the Senate-house, and his written Orations to the People, were dispersed abroad,

Cæsar.—O nos felices te viro imperante, &c. — Down with the Honours of the Enemy of his Country [meaning Commodus] Down with the Honours of the Parricide. Drag the Parricide. Let the Enemy of his Country, the Parricide, the Gladiator, be torn to pieces in the Stripping-hole [a Hole in the Arena, where the dead Prize-fighters were stowed.] The Enemy of the Gods, the Enemy of the Senate.—That we may be safe, O good, great Jupiter, preserve to us Pertinax.—Good Luck to the Roman Armies. Good luck to the Piety of the Senate.—Hear, O Cæsar. The Informers to the Lion. Hear, O Cæsar. O happy us with such a Man, as you, our Emperor! &c.

Lampridius gives us these Forms from *Marius Maximus*, who took them out of the Acts of the Senate; and *Dio* confirms them as authentic; who himself was present in the Senate-house, and joined with his Brother-Senators in the Acclamations.

These Acclamations were not uttered at random, but chanted in a sort of noisy Tune, and from a set Form. One of the Senators pitch'd the Tune, and the rest followed, repeating the same Words several times, like the Chorus of a merry Song. And therefore *Pliny* the younger calls them *Cantica*. I find frequent mention of them made by the Writers of the *Augusta Historia*; who are minute enough to set down, how many Times each Form was repeated. The Custom continued down to the Times of the *Christian* Emperors, not only in the State, but the Church also. Thus we read, that when *St. Austin*, the *African* Bishop, nominated *Eradius* for his Successor, these Acclamations followed: *Deo gratias. Christo laudes. Exaudi, Christe. Augustino vitam. Te patrem; te episcopum. Thanks to God. Praises to Christ: This was said thirteen Times. Hear, O Christ; Life to Austin: Repeated sixteen Times. Thee, our Father; thee, our Bishop: Said eighteen Times.*

to the inexpressible Joy of the whole Empire ; who all hoped to find in him, not a King, but a just and clement Governor, a Father of his People. For he ordered the Soldiers to leave off all Insults to the Commonalty, nor even to strike any one as he passed ; and endeavoured to restore Things to their former Decency and good Order. In his Processions and public Dispensations of Justice, he shewed a moderate, humane, and merciful Disposition ; and by studiously imitating the Virtues of *Marcus*, delighted the Elder with the Revival of that good Prince's Memory ; and easily gained the Love and Esteem of all the rest, by recovering them from a State of Misery under the most cruel and contumelious Tyranny, to a regular, secure, and happy Life. The Fame of his mild Government soon diffusing itself abroad, all the Nations and Armies within either the Dominion or Alliance of the *Romans*, look'd on him as a Prince endued with Divine Power. Even the Barbarians, who had thrown off the Reins of Subjection, and were creating Disturbances, repressed by Fear, and awed at the Remembrance of his Virtues, so eminently conspicuous in the former Wars, and at the same time crediting the Report of his Integrity, that he never willingly injured any, but rewarded every one according to his Merit, free from an unbecoming Partiality, and averse to Violence and Rigor, voluntarily submitted themselves to his Authority. And Ambassadors were sent from all Parts, to congratulate the *Romans* on their being blessed with such a Sovereign.

But while all rejoiced, both publickly and privately, in his mild and prudent Government,

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the very Prospect that gave so much Pleasure to all the World besides, was the Cause of great Dissatisfaction to the Soldiers at *Rome*, who used to guard the Emperor's Person. For being now restrain'd from Rapine and Insolence, and recall'd to good Order and Decorum, they thought themselves disgraced by this mild equitable Government; and as it curb'd their Licentiousness, they resolved not to bear it. At first they only behaved themselves tardy and disobedient to what was commanded; but soon after, e'er *Pertinax* had completed full two Months^d of his Reign (in which little Space he had shewn so many good and generous Actions, that his Subjects conceived great Hopes of Happiness) evil Fortune infascinated and subverted all, and hindred him from effecting his admirable Designs, so plainly calculated for the Good of his People.

Pertinax's For, first, he ordered, that the Land in
good Go- *Italy* and other Parts, that lay unmanured and
vernment. idle, even though it belonged to the Crown^e,

^d *Eusebius*, by a gross Mistake, makes him reign six Months; whereas *Dio*, who, as well as our Author, was then living, says, his whole Reign was but eighty-seven Days. *Capitolinus* makes it two Months, twenty-five Days; and *Eutropius* eighty Days: All far short of six Months.

^e The Reader must not imagine this modern Phrase to be a literal Translation; for Crowns are not mentioned in the ordinary *Regalia* of the *Roman* Emperors. They were bestowed on Great Men at *Rome*, in Consideration of some signal Services, and had Epithets significative of the several Merits for which they were conferr'd; as a *Civil Crown*, given to him that had saved the Life of a *Citizen* in War; a *Mural Crown*, to him that first scaled the *Walls* of the Enemy's Town, &c. *Julius Cæsar*, indeed, obtained Leave from the Senate to wear a perpetual Coronet of Laurel; but his Successors either wore it or rejected it occasionally

should be given to all who would undertake to cultivate and improve it, according to every one's Ability; and enacted, that the Occupiers and Improvers should be sole Proprietors. He granted to all Husbandmen, Exemption from Taxes for ten Years, and perpetual Immunity from all kinds of Servitude. He refused to have any of the Imperial Revenues and Estates go under his Name; for he said they were not the Property of the Sovereign, but the common and public Inheritance of the *Roman* Empire. All the Imposts and Customs, on the Sides of Rivers, in the Ports of the City, or the common Passages and Highways, which had been invented only to gratify the Avarice of Tyrants, he took off; and restored the Places to their pristine Freedom. The whole Tenor of his Actions sufficiently demonstrated, that his sole Delight was to promote the Good of his Subjects, and that he intended to carry on that Reformation he had so well begun: For he banished all Informers^f from the City, and com-

casionally. The chief Symbol of Imperial Dignity was a purple Robe; but the Diadem, or Regal Crown, was not in Use among the *Romans* till the Time of *Justinian* the Emperor, above five hundred Years after *Christ*. Though we are told by *Suetonius*, that *Caligula* was very near taking the Diadem, and reducing the *Roman* State into the Form of a Kingdom.

^f As there is frequent mention of *Informers* in the Writings of the *Romans*, it may not be improper to give the *English* Reader a short Account of them. They were a Set of mischievous Creatures, call'd by the *Romans*, *Delatores*; who, under the Direction of Head-Informers stiled *Mandatores*, insinuated themselves into the Companies and Assemblies of the Nobility, Gentry, and others; and having taken Notice of all that was said or done, gave Information of every the least Word or Circumstance tending

manded them to be punished wherever they were taken, thereby guarding against any Danger that might accrue to the Lives or Properties of the People by false or invidious Accusations; which gave the Senate especially, and all the rest, the most promising Expectations of spending their Lives in Security and Happiness. As a Proof of his Moderation, and how little he loved to value himself above others, he never brought his Son, who was a young Lad, into the Imperial Palace, but kept him at his own private House, and sent him to the public Schools, and other Gymnastic Colleges, amongst other Children; and made him go through the same Lessons and Exercises as private Boys, without the least Indulgence or Partiality; nor would have him at all distinguished from the rest by any regal Dress or pompous Equipage.

The Soldiers rise
against
Pertinax,
and murder him.

While, by these sound Principles, he governed both himself and his People, the Guards alone were offended at his Conduct; and longing again for those Ravages and Violences they had practised under the former Reign, at some of their drunken Revels they agreed to cut him off, as a heavy Clog to their vicious Courses,

to Disaffection to the Emperor. The Persons informed against were generally condemned on their Evidence, and either put to Death, or banished. This Gang was so deservedly odious to the People, that the best and greatest Reformation they requested from good Emperors, was to rid them immediately of these pernicious Pests of Society. The Reward given to certain Informers for their Informations, not only under the Emperors, but in the Times of the Republic also, was commonly a Fourth Part of the Fortunes of the Condemned; whence they obtained the Title of *Quadruplatores*.

and

and set up in his room one that would maintain them in their Licentiousness with Impunity. Accordingly, when none suspected an Attempt of this nature, but the whole City was in the utmost Tranquillity, with a turbulent fiery Spirit they issued out of their Camp, and ran in a tumultuous Manner, till they came to the Palace about Noon; which they entred, presenting their Spears, and brandishing their Swords, with all the Marks of military Outrage. The Officers and Servants of the Emperor, shock'd at this sudden unexpected Riot, were incapable of making any Resistance; but, being few and unarmed, against an armed seditious Multitude, left their several Posts in the Avenues and Apartments of the Court, and fled with Precipitation: Only a few of his Friends ran in to *Pertinax*, and, acquainting him of the Mutiny, advised him to fly, and put himself on the People for Protection. But he could not be prevail'd upon to take their Counsel, thinking it, though useful for the present, yet mean and unbecoming the Imperial Dignity and the Character of his past Life and Actions; therefore absolutely refused either to fly or hide himself. He judged it most advisable, in this dangerous Crisis, to go out and speak to them, hoping he might appease their wild unreasonable Rage for the present. Accordingly, he came out of his Apartment, and went up to them, with Intent to learn the Cause of their present Commotion; and endeavoured, with great Calmness and Presence of Mind, to reduce them to Reason. For he appeared neither irritated, nor shocked at the Danger; but, without cringing, or supplicating, or acting any

His
Speech
to them.

thing beneath the Authority of a Sovereign ;
 “ To have (says he) my Life thus violently
 “ taken from me, is no very great nor heavy
 “ Loss to an old Man, who has arrived at this
 “ advanced Period with Reputation and Ho-
 “ nour ; since Death is the common Condition
 “ of Humanity, which, sooner or later, every
 “ one must undergo. But that you, the re-
 “ puted Guards and Defenders of your Sove-
 “ reign, whose Duty it is to repel all Dangers
 “ offered him from others, should yourselves
 “ become his Murtherers, and stain your Swords
 “ with the Blood, not only of your Country-
 “ man, but your Prince ; consider whether this
 “ may not hereafter prove as dangerous to you,
 “ as it is now impious. For I am not conscious
 “ to myself of having afforded you the least
 “ Ground for Resentment. If it be the Loss
 “ of *Commodus* that you bear so hardly, you
 “ would do well to reflect, he was a Man ; con-
 “ sequently his Death can be no matter of Sur-
 “ prize. But if you think he was taken off by
 “ Treachery, this Imputation still affects not
 “ me ; who, as you well know, was too far
 “ from the Court to be within the reach even
 “ of Suspicion, and as ignorant of what was
 “ there transacted, as you yourselves : So that
 “ if you suspect Treason, you should charge it
 “ on those at least who may possibly be guilty.
 “ But since his Decease, you have been always
 “ supported in your just Privileges, and sup-
 “ plied with every thing you could reasonably
 “ expect, without my having recourse to Vio-
 “ lence or Injustice.”—While he reason’d with
 them after this Manner, some began to relent,
 and a great many turned away and retired,
 aw’d

aw'd at the grave Majesty of so venerable an Emperor. But some of the rest rush'd upon the good old Man in the midst of his Speech, and murthered him. When the horrid Deed was done, the Soldiers, well knowing how displeasing the News would be to the People, and thinking it best to prevent any bad Consequences of their just Resentment, retired to their Camp; where they kept themselves within the Walls, and placed sufficient Guards in the Towers, to repel any Attack might be made by the People. This was the Manner of *Pertinax's* Death; whose Life and Morals were, as we have before described.

When the News of the Emperor's Assassination reached the Ears of the People, they were seized with the utmost Confusion and Sorrow. They ran up and down like Persons distracted, in wild Disorder, seeking for the Murtherers; and what added to their Rage was, that they could neither find nor punish them. But the Members of the Senate were most deeply affected with the common Calamity; they mourn'd in him the Loss of a kind Father and indulgent Prince; and had dreadful Prefages of Tyranny to ensue; since they found, the Soldiers in that placed their chief Interest. When a Day or two had passed, the Populace, each out of fear for himself and Family, dispersed quietly to their Houses; and those who were in public Authority retired to their Villa's and Estates, as far distant as they could from the City, to avoid any Mischief which might befall them at the new Election.

The Soldiers, when they found the People was quiet, and that none attempted to revenge the Em-
 pire set to
 Sale.

the Blood of the Emperor, kept themselves still in their Encampments; but sent out some of the strongest Lungs and loudest Voices upon the Works, to cry, that the Empire was to be set to Sale, and consign'd to the highest Bidder; and that they would conduct the Purchaser safe into the Imperial Palace. When this strange Proclamation was spread, the honest and more steady Members of the Senate, and they of the best Quality and Fortunes (the small Remains of *Commodus's* Tyranny) neither went near the Walls, nor gave the least Countenance to the dishonourable and scandalous Step, of trafficking for the Government of their Country.

But the Proclamation of the Soldiers was told to one *Julian* (a Man of Consular Rank, and thought excessively rich) while he was at Supper in the Evening, debauching and carousing; for he had the Character of a very intemperate Liver. His Wife and Daughters, with his whole Herd of Parasites, persuaded him to leave the Table, and fly directly to the Camp, to learn the Truth of the Story; and all the way they prompted him to lay hold on the prostituted Empire; for that he had Money enough to out-bid any that should put in with him for the Purchase. When they came near the Wall, he bawl'd out, that he would give whatever they asked; that he had wherewithal to satisfy their Demands, being possessed of immense Treasures of Gold and Silver.

Sulpitian
bids for
the Em-
pire, but
is refused.

About the same Time, one *Sulpitian*, who was likewise of Consular Dignity, and presided over the City, whose Daughter *Pertinax* had married, came up to bid for the Empire: But the Soldiers did not like him for a Chapman,

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on account of his near Affinity to *Pertinax*; fearing that this was only a Device to get the Power into his Hands, and then to revenge the Murther of his Son-in-law.

Having let down a Ladder, they received *Julian* upon the Walls; not chusing to open the Gates, till they had heard what Price he would offer. When he came up, he promised to vindicate the Memory of *Commodus*, to renew all the Honours, and re-erect the Statues the Senate had thrown down; to restore them all the Privileges they had in his Reign; and to give every Soldier a Sum of Money [£], above what they could demand or even hope; and that the Payment should not be put off from Time to Time, but he would send immediately Home for the ready Money. The Soldiers, won by these Promises, and raised into high Expectations, saluted *Julian* Emperor, and honoured him with the additional Name of *Commodus*. They then displayed their Standards, on which they had fixed the Images ^h of *Julian*, and got every thing ready to attend him to the Court.

£ He promised every Soldier (according to *Dio*) 6250 *Drachms*, of our Money above 195 *l*.

^h The Ensigns and Standards of the ancient *Romans*, were not Flags or Banners, as now in Use, but Effigies of certain Animals, made of Gold or Silver, and fastened on the Top of a Spear. The principal Standard of a *Roman* Legion was an *Eagle* with a Thunderbolt in his Talons. This was assumed by *Caius Marius* in the *Cimbric* War; and after him the *Eagle* alone came to be the *Roman* Standard, which at first was only a *Manipulus fæni*, *Wisp of Hay*, stuck on a Pole, as we are told by *Plutarch* (in *Romulo*) whence came the Term of *Maniples* in the *Roman* Army. Before the Time of *Marius*, *Wolves*, *Minotaurs*, *Horses*, and *Boars*, were Standards. But *Dio* assures us,

Julian was not backward in hastening all the Ceremonies and Sacrifices proper for his Inauguration in the Camp; after which he was conducted forth by a far greater Number of Guards than usual: For as he had bought the Imperial Power of the Soldiery, contrary to the Sentiments of the People, who detested their base and shameful Venality, he expected to meet with great Opposition. But the Soldiers, full armed, and drawn up into close Battalia, with the new Emperor of their own making in the Center, marching in Order of Battle, and holding their Shields and Spears over their Heads, for

us, lib. xl. that the Standard-Eagle was not only the Image of that Bird, but the Figure of a little Temple or Shrine in which the sacred golden Eagle was placed. Which seems to be confirmed by *Cicero*, in *Cat. i.* and more clearly by *Tacitus*, *Annal. lib. xv.* And though we frequently read of *Vexilla*, *Flags*, or *Banners*, in ancient Authors, 'tis plain from several Passages of *Livy*, and *Tacitus* (particularly in the Third Book of his Histories) that they were the ordinary Colours of the Auxiliary Forces; and only of small Divisions of the Legionary Soldiers. In the Times of the Emperors, the Names of the Sovereigns were inscribed on these Banners. So *Suetonius* (*Vespas. c. vi.*) informs us, that at the Election of a new Emperor to succede *Vitellius*, some Soldiers of the Third Legion, who had been sent out of *Syria* into *Mæsia*, cried up *Vespasian* as the most worthy, which was agreed to by all present, and his Name was immediately written on their Banners. But the Badges or Arms of each Prince's Family were infixed on the Standards and Banners also; and were called his Honours and Images. These the Soldiers worshipped, and swore by; and to these, Kings and Rulers of foreign Nations were often obliged to pay Adoration.

'Tis reasonable to suppose, *Julian* took care to bring his own Arms with him into the Camp, well knowing, one of the first Honours done by the Soldiery to their new Emperors, was to take down the Images of the late Sovereign, and set up those of his Successor in their Stead.

fear any Stones or Weapons thrown from the Tops of Houses might disturb the Procession, in this manner attended him to the Imperial Palace, the People neither making any Resistance, nor receiving him with the usual Acclamations, but only following him at a Distance with Invectives and Imprecations, as one who had debased the Dignity of the Empire, by bargaining for it with Money, as a common vendible Commodity.

This Step first corrupted the Morals of the Soldiers, taught them to indulge an insatiate and shameful Greediness after Money, and instilled into them an utter Contempt of the Majesty of their Sovereigns. For no one daring to call them to an Account for the barbarous Murther of the best of Princes, or give a Check to their egregious Insolence, in crying, exposing, and selling the Imperial Dignity, this Impunity was the Cause and Spring of that Licentiousness, Disobedience, Avarice, and Contempt of Authority, which every day increased, till they imbrued their Hands in the Blood of their Sovereigns.

Julian had no sooner got Possession of the Empire but he buried himself in Sensuality, taking no Concern about public Affairs, but devoting his whole Time to Luxury and Sloth. The Soldiers found his Performances fall infinitely short of what he promised : For he had not the prodigious Quantity of Money at home he boasted ; nor could the public Treasuries supply him, as they had been long before exhausted by the mad Extravagancies of *Commodus*. This exasperated the Soldiery ; who finding themselves cheated of their Hopes, resented the Affront ;

Julian is despised, and *Niger* cried up.

Affront ; and the People, taking Advantage of their Disappointment, held him in such Contempt, that they insulted him as he pass'd, in very opprobrious Language, and scoffingly upbraided him with his bestial obscene Practices : And in the open *Circus*ⁱ, where a great Multitude of Spectators were assembled, they often railed at *Julian* ; and at the same time called *Niger*, *Vindicator of the Empire of the Romans*, and *Guardian of the Sovereign Power*, wishing he might soon return, to redress the Grievances under which they laboured. *Niger* had formerly been Consul ; but during these Transactions at *Rome*, was Governor of all *Syria*, a very large and powerful Province, as it comprehended the Government of all the *Phanicians*, and the whole Country quite to the River *Euphrates* ; he was pretty well advanced in Years ; had often signalized his Valour ; and had the Character of a Man of much Moderation and great Abilities, and one that formed his Life after *Pertinax's* Example. This made the *Romans* entertain a very high Opinion of his Worth. They were perpetually mentioning him at all their public Meetings ; and as they inveigh'd against *Julian*, who was present, so they honour'd *Niger* with all the Titles of Sovereignty in his Absence. *Niger*, being informed of the Sentiments of the

ⁱ The *Circus* was a large oblong Building, destined for the Celebration of public Games. There were several of them at *Rome* (some Authors say, ten in all) of which the principal was the *Circus maximus*, greatest *Cirque*, environed with a Wall and Portico's, with Ranges of Seats so numerous, that, if *Pliny* may be credited, 260,000 Spectators might conveniently sit and see the Races and other Exercises. It was first built by *Tarquinius Priscus*.

People, and their perpetual Clamours at all their Meetings, concluding, naturally enough, it would be no difficult matter to compass his Designs; especially as *Julian* was but little regarded by the Soldiers about him, on account of his failing to fulfil his Promises; and despised by the People, as one unworthy the Power he had bought; gave himself up to the pleasing Hopes of obtaining the Imperial Purple. At first then, sending several Generals, Tribunes, and some Soldiers of the best Characters, one after another, to their respective Homes in those Countries, he discoursed with them before they set out, and told them what Accounts he had received from *Rome*; that so they might spread the Report among the Soldiers and other Inhabitants of the East; who, he thought, would be the sooner persuaded to come into his Interest, if they were informed, that he was not contriving to set himself at the Head of the Empire, by any clandestine, treasonable Practices, but that he was invited by the *Romans*, and even intreated to come to their Assistance.

This Policy had the desired Effect; they came flocking to him from all Parts, and pray'd him to take the Government into his Hands. For the *Syrians* are a light mutable People, very proper Tools for Innovation; and had, besides, a great Respect for *Niger*, who had behaved with much Moderation to them all, and often came to their public Diversions at Festivals. Of these the *Syrians* are excessively fond, particularly the Inhabitants of *Antioch*, a great and flourishing City, who celebrate Feasts almost all the Year, both in the City and Suburban Villages. It was no Wonder then, *Niger*, by presenting

The Character of the *Syrians*.

senting them with several public Shews (a Generosity well adapted to their Humour) and giving them Time for frequent Holy-days and Merry-makings, had made himself so universally respected by them. This he well knew; and having dispatched Orders for the Soldiers from all Parts to come to him at a Day appointed, and the rest of the People being assembled, he ascends a Rostrum, raised for the Occasion, and spake to them in Terms to this Purport.

*Niger's
Speech.*

“ With what Moderation I have always con-
 “ ducted my Sentiments, and that I never en-
 “ tred on any great Undertaking, but after the
 “ most wary Deliberation, are Points, I pre-
 “ sume, too well known to you, to stand in
 “ need of any Declaration. Nor would I have
 “ treated with you now in this public Man-
 “ ner, had I been only prompted by my own
 “ private Interest, or puffed up with a fond ir-
 “ rational Hope, or hurried on by a blind and
 “ rash Ambition, beyond any visible probabi-
 “ lity of Success. But the *Roman* People pub-
 “ lickly invoke my Assistance; they importune
 “ me with repeated Cries, they press me in the
 “ most moving Terms, to succour their Dis-
 “ tress; and not to see, without Concern, that
 “ glorious, that flourishing Empire, purchased
 “ by the Blood of their Ancestors, so shame-
 “ fully sunk into Dishonour and Contempt.
 “ And though to attempt an Enterprize of so
 “ adventurous a Nature, without good Rea-
 “ son and a fair Occasion, might justly be cen-
 “ sured as a presumptuous Temerity; yet to
 “ be deaf to the Cries, and unmoved at the
 “ Prayers of one's Country, is the Part of a
 “ Coward,

“ Coward, a Parricide, a Traytor. I have there-
 “ fore summoned you together, to hear in your
 “ Advice, what is best to be done in this pres-
 “ sing Conjuncture ; and to share with you all
 “ my Counsels and Designs ; the good Success
 “ of which will procure our common and equal
 “ Utility. ’Tis no mean Motive, no light pre-
 “ carious Hope, that invites us ; but ’tis the
 “ People of *Rome*, to whom the Gods have
 “ given the Government of Nations, and the
 “ Dominion of the whole World ; ’tis this great
 “ Empire, now shaking, tottering, sinking,
 “ without any certain Foundation. We have
 “ therefore the strongest Reasons to expect Suc-
 “ cess, as we are encouraged by the Invitation
 “ of the People ; and shall find (if any) but
 “ a very weak Opposition : For I have certain
 “ Information, that the very Soldiers who sold
 “ him the Power, are now unwilling to protect
 “ him in it, because he has fail’d in his Part
 “ of the Compact. Weigh then the Case, and
 “ let me know your Sentiments.”

As soon as he had finished, all the Soldiery, *Niger* de-
 and the rest of the Multitude present, declared
 him Emperor, and saluted him *Augustus* ; and
 having array’d him in the Imperial Purple, and
 all the other Badges of Sovereign Power which
 the Place and Time afforded, carrying the Fire
 before him in public Procession, they conducted
 him first into the Temples of *Antioch*, and af-
 terwards attended him to his own House ; which
 they now no longer look’d on as a private Man-
 sion, but a Prince’s Court ; and accordingly dis-
 played before it all the Symbols of Royal Ho-
 nour.

Niger

Niger was exceedingly pleased with all this ; every thing seemed to concur in his Favour ; the good Wishes of the *Romans* at home, and the ardent Zeal of all about him ; so that he imagined himself fixed secure enough in the Empire. For the Report flying swiftly about, the Nations inhabiting the Continent opposite to *Europe*, with great Alacrity came flocking to do him Homage. Embassies arrived, from every Quarter, at *Antioch*, to own him Emperor ; and Kings and Deputies beyond the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* sent to congratulate him, and promised their Assistance if it should be needful. All these he magnificently requited with valuable Presents, returned them Thanks for their good Affection and voluntary Offers ; but told them withal, he had no need at present of Auxiliaries ; for that his Power was sufficiently secure, and he intended to rule without Blood. Elate with these pleasing Appearances, he became supine and negligent, indulging himself in Pleasures, and making merry with the People of *Antioch* at all their Feasts and Pastimes ; forgetting (what was of most Importance) how necessary his Presence was at *Rome*. Nay, so strange was his Infatuation, that he never visited the Forces in *Pannonia* and *Illyrium*, to bring them into his Interest (which should have been the next Step taken) or so much as acquainted them with any thing that was done ; fondly supposing, that as soon as the News should reach them, the Soldiers in those Parts would readily accede to the Wishes of the *Romans*, and the Sentiments of all the Eastern Nations.

While

While *Niger* was thus chalking out fine *Severus* Schemes of Prosperity, and feeding himself with entertains light uncertain Hopes, the Report of what had Hopes of been transacted in *Syria* came to the *Pannoni-* rial Dig-
ans and *Illyrians*, and the Armies which were nity. encamped on the Banks of the *Danube* and *Rhine*, to maintain the Borders of the *Roman* Empire against the Incursions of the Barbarians. These were all commanded by *Severus*, who was by Birth a *Libyan*, a Man of great Abilities and Affiduity, of a fiery enterprizing Spirit; inured to Toil and Hardships, ready to encounter any Difficulty, quick in Contrivance; and vigorous in Execution. This Man, therefore, listening to the Reports which were brought him, how the *Roman* Empire hung, as it were, in the Air, for any one that had Courage enough to lay hold on it, conceived great Desire of putting in for the Prize, from the Unworthiness of the other two Candidates; one of whom he despised, as indolent; the other, as deficient: And what added not a little to his Encouragement, was the Remembrance of several Dreams, Oracles, and other Prognostications, which seemed to foretel his future Grandeur^k. For all these

^k The principal Omens and Dreams predicting the future Grandeur of *Severus* are the following.

Upon his first Arrival at *Rome*, his Host entertained him immediately with reading to him the Life of the Emperor *Adrian*.

The Day on which he was made a Senator by *Marcus*, he came in the Evening to sup with the Emperor; but being unprovided with a Senatorian Gown, *Marcus* very complaisantly array'd him in his own Imperial Robe.

The same Evening he sat down in the Emperor's Chair, through the Mistake of the Servant, and his own Ignorance of its being unlawful.

kinds of Omens are then believed, when the Event of Affairs seems to verify their Predictions. Most of these are since publish'd by himself in the History of his Life, and represented in Sculpture and Painting on his public Images. But the last and most remarkable that appeared to him, and which gave the greatest Encouragement to his Hopes, I could by no means think proper to pass over in Silence.

His remarkable Dream.

When the News first arrived, that *Pertinax* was made Emperor, *Severus*, after having publicly attended Divine Service, and taken the proper Sacrament of Allegiance to the new Sovereign, returned to his House in the Evening, and presently fell into a deep Sleep: In which he thought he saw a large spirited Steed, adorn'd with royal Trappings, on which *Pertinax* was mounted, and rode in State through

One Night, as he was asleep, a Snake folded itself round his Head, and went off without hurting him; while his Servants were terribly alarmed at the Sight.

Julian always used to call him his *Successor*, because he had succeeded him in the Proconsulate of *Africa*.

A *Mathematician* (for so the *Latins* call'd an Astrologer) in *Africa* cast his Nativity, and foretold his Sovereignty.

When he was in *Spain*, he dream'd one Night, that he must be the Repairer of the ruined Temple of *Augustus* at *Arragon*.

As he was at Supper one Evening in his Garden, he gave his Son, then about five Years old, some Fruit; which the Child distributing among his Play-mates, the Father says to him, *Be a little more sparing in your Distributions; you don't possess the Wealth of a King.* To which the Boy immediately replies, *But I shall.*

These are the Predictions I have collected from *Dio* and *Spartian*. What Truth there may be in them, I shall not pretend to say. They are sufficient to shew the Reader, how fond the *Romans* were of Prophecy, and on what kind of Omens they usually relied.

the

the *Holy Street* at *Rome*. When he came to the Entrance of the *Forum*, where the People used to assemble when *Rome* enjoyed her Liberty as a Republic, the Horse immediately threw *Pertinax*; and as himself was standing by, the Beast, stooping down, received him on his Back, rose with him safe, and standing firm in the midst of the *Forum*, bore *Severus* aloft conspicuous to the Multitude, who paid him all the Homage of a Sovereign. A magnificent Representation of this Vision remains in the same Place to this Day, the Figures of a large Size, and made of Brass.

Severus thus raised into high Hopes, not His Possibilities doubting but he was called to the Empire by divine Providence, resolved to sound the Inclinations of the Army. At first therefore he gained to his Party the Prefects, Tribunes, and principal Soldiers, with whom he would often discourse of the present abject State of the *Roman* Empire; how it lay deserted, having no Man of Honour or Merit to take upon him the Administration of Affairs. He enlarged on the Disloyalty of the Soldiers of *Rome*, who with accumulated Treason had added Murther to Perjury, and stain'd their Arms with Imperial and Civil Blood. He hinted, at the same time, how just it would be, to avenge the Death of *Pertinax*; whose Virtues, he well knew, still lived in the Memory of all the Soldiers in *Illyrium*: For under his Command, in *Marcus's* Reign, they had gained several great Victories over the *Germans*; and when he was made Commander in Chief and Governor of the *Illyrians*, he gave frequent Proofs of his personal Valour, and every other Ability requisite

sute to constitute a good Officer; and in his Civil Government, always behaved with Gentleness, Generosity, Wisdom, and Moderation. These good Qualities had endeared his Memory, and excited their Indignation at the horrid Cruelty he had so undeservedly suffered. *Severus* made the best Advantages of their Resentments; and by pretending he sought not the Imperial Purple to promote his own private Interest, or satisfy a vain Desire of Greatness, but to have it in his Power to take Vengeance on the Murtherers of so good a Prince, he easily drew them over to his Purpose. For the Men in these Parts, as they are tall and bulky in Body, and sturdy and fierce Fighters; so they have very dull Wits, and are excellent Tools for Ambition, as they are so easily imposed on by Craft or Flattery. Therefore, when he told them his Motive was only to avenge the Blood of *Pertinax*, they, without the least Reserve, consented to declare *Severus* Emperor, and invest him with the supreme Power.

His Diffi- Having gained the *Pannonians* to his Interest, mulation. he dispatches Messengers to the neighbouring Nations, and to all who held any Office of Trust and Power within the Jurisdiction of the *Romans* in the North; whom, by great Hopes and Promises, he soon bribed to his Party. No Man was better qualified to court and acquire Popularity than *Severus*: He stuck at nothing to gain Credit; even Perjury itself, if needful, easily went down; Diffimulation was natural to him; and his Tongue was always ready to utter Things contrary to the Sentiments of his Mind. Having therefore, by Letters, artfully

artfully insinuated his Pretensions, he won over all *Illyrium*, and the Rulers of the Provinces. He then convened the Soldiers from all Parts, and assuming the Name of *Pertinax* instead of *Severus* (by which he thought not only to attach the *Illyrians* to him, but to ingratiate himself also with the People of *Rome*, to whom the Name of *Pertinax* was dear) he gave Orders for their assembling in the Field; and a Pulpit being erected for him, he mounted, and address'd himself to them in this manner.

“ Your warm Indignation against the daring
 “ Insolence of those City-Soldiers, maintained
 “ rather for Pomp than any noble Service, is a
 “ certain Indication of your inviolate Faith, the
 “ Reverence you have for the Gods, by whom
 “ you swear, and that laudable Respect and Ho-
 “ nour you pay the sacred Majesty of your
 “ Princes. 'Tis from this Consideration that I,
 “ who never before durst entertain the least
 “ Hope of this high Honour (for you all are
 “ Witnesses of my steady Obedience to my
 “ Sovereigns) now confess myself ambitious of
 “ promoting this glorious Cause, and bringing
 “ the great Work you have undertaken to a
 “ happy Issue. To raise the *Roman* Empire
 “ from its abject State; that Empire, which
 “ under the wise Direction of our former Princes
 “ struck the whole World with Wonder and
 “ Reverence. And though, when it fell into
 “ the Hands of *Commodus*, from the Inexperi-
 “ ence of his Youth, it suffered some Diminu-
 “ tion; yet the Greatness of his Birth, and the
 “ Memory of his Father's Virtues, cast a Shade
 “ over his ill Conduct, and made us rather pity
 “ his Frailties, than hate him for his Vices:

His
Speech
to the
Soldiers.

“ The greatest Part of which were not so much
“ imputable to him, as to a servile Herd of
“ Sycophants and Flatterers, Pandars to Lust,
“ and Ministers to Iniquity. But when it’s
“ drooping Glory began to revive, under our
“ late venerable Sovereign, whose Courage and
“ Goodness are impressed in all your Breasts
“ with indelible Characters, this happy Prospect
“ was so odious in the Eyes of those Traitors,
“ that it stirred them up to assassinate the good
“ old Man. That done; this extensive Go-
“ vernment of the Earth and Sea (O shameful
“ Prostitution!) was sold to a Person of incon-
“ siderable Note, to whom (as you hear) the
“ People declare their Hatred, and the Soldiers,
“ whom he cheated, are now disaffected: Nor,
“ if they were ever so zealously attached to his
“ Government, are they to be compared to you,
“ either collectively or singly, in manly Cou-
“ rage improved by military Experience. You
“ have often encountered the most barbarous
“ Enemies. You have learned to bear tedious
“ Labours, and painful Marches; to despise
“ Extremes of Cold and Heat; to tread the
“ Dangers of frozen Rivers; to drink Waters,
“ not drawn up, but dug; to hunt the most
“ savage Beasts of Prey; in a word, your whole
“ Life has been but one continued Improve-
“ ment in Patience and Fortitude: So that no
“ one, though ever so willing, is able to resist
“ you. ’Tis Labour and Hardship is the War-
“ riour’s Glory, not the Delicacy and Softness
“ of a City Life; by which these Rioters and
“ Debauchees have been so long enervated, that
“ they have not Strength to sustain the Shout,
“ much less the Fury, of such Soldiers as you.

“ But

“ But should any one suspect, that Affairs in
 “ *Syria* may be attended with somewhat more
 “ of Difficulty; let him reflect on the present
 “ Inaction of the Troops there; and from that
 “ he will form a just Idea of their Weakness:
 “ For neither have they yet dared so much as
 “ to consult about marching to *Rome*; but think
 “ themselves happy enough to remain where
 “ they are; and esteem the daily Pleasures, in
 “ which they revel, a sufficient Advantage from
 “ a new precarious Power. The chief Excel-
 “ lence and Delight of the *Syrians*, and espe-
 “ cially those of *Antioch*, who, they say, are the
 “ principal Favourers of *Niger*, consist in Jest-
 “ ing and Drollery. The other Nations, and
 “ the rest of the Cities, seem to espouse his In-
 “ terest, only because, so great is their Scarcity
 “ of Courage and Prudence, they cannot find
 “ a Man amongst them worthy to be seated in
 “ the Imperial Throne, and likely to discharge
 “ the important Trust with Honour. But when
 “ once they shall be told, the whole *Illyrian*
 “ Power has joined its unanimous Suffrage to
 “ my Name (which, I presume, is not un-
 “ known or unhonoured amongst them, as we
 “ have formerly presided over that Province)
 “ be assured, they will neither despise my In-
 “ dolence or Timidity, nor chuse to expose
 “ themselves to your Resentment, and sad-
 “ ly experience the warlike Virtue of Men
 “ so much their Superiors, in corporal Stature,
 “ in laborious Exercise, and in the Conflict of
 “ a close Engagement. Let us then anticipate
 “ their March to *Rome*. There is the Seat of
 “ the Imperial Dignity. From thence, exert-
 “ ing our Power, we shall easily settle what re-

“ mains, relying on the Predictions of the
 “ Gods, on your Valour, the Force of your
 “ Arms, and the Strength of your Bodies.”

A.D. 194. As soon as *Severus* had done speaking in this
Severus is manner, the Soldiers expressed their Zeal for
 declared his Service in loud Acclamations, calling him
 Emperor. *Augustus* and *Pertinax*. He, judging it proper
 to admit no Delay, orders them to furnish them-
 selves with only bare Necessaries, and make rea-
 dy for a March to *Rome*; and having distributed
 proper Allowances for the Way, sets out with
 great Expedition.

His Expe- Every right Measure was used to accelerate
 dition for the Motion of the Army: He took the shortest
Rome. Routes, made forced Marches, never halting
 or remaining at any Place longer than it was
 absolutely necessary for the Soldiers to refresh
 themselves. Himself bore an equal Share of
 the Labours; he lay in a common Tent, car-
 ried the same Provisions both in Quantity and
 Quality, without assuming the least Distinction
 or royal Indulgence; that by these Condescen-
 sions he might confirm the Good-will of the
 Soldiers. For when they saw him not only
 partake, but enter first upon the most arduous
 Labours, they revered his Fortitude, and obey-
 ed all his Orders with Alacrity. When he had
 in this manner run through all *Pannonia*, and
 came upon the Confines of *Italy*, the *Italians*
 saw him their Sovereign, before they had heard
 the News of his leaving the Province.

Descrip- This struck all the Cities with Terror, at the
 tion of Approach of so powerful an Army: For the
Italy and Inhabitants had long abandoned the Use of
 its Inha- Arms, and Exercises of War; and were wholly
 bitants. employed in Agriculture and other peaceful
 Arts,

Arts. For while the *Roman* Government was a Democracy, and the Senate had the Power of making War, and appointing the Generals, all the *Italians* were perpetually in Arms; and having conquered the *Greeks* and Barbarians, were Masters of the Land and Sea; nor was there a Region of the Earth, or Climate of Heaven, where the *Roman* Power was not extended: But when they were reduced to a Monarchy under *Augustus Cæsar*, he eased the *Italians* of the Fatigues of War, and stripped them of their Arms, leaving only several Garrisons and Encampments of mercenary Forces, hired at a certain Stipend of Provisions, for the Defence of the Empire. With these Barriers, together with the Advantages of great Rivers, large Ditches, the Projection of high Mountains, and long Tracks of Desert-Land interrupted with frequent rough and hollow Ways, almost unpassable, he fortified all the Frontiers of his Empire as with a Wall. Hence it is not to be wonder'd, that when they heard *Severus* was advancing with so great a Number of Forces, they were terribly alarm'd at the Unusualness of the thing, and too much intimidated to make any Resistance; but went out to meet him with Laurels in their Hands, and opened all the Gates for his Reception. However, he tarried no longer with them than just to perform the accustom'd Sacrifices, and to address himself in a short Speech to the People; and then proceeded with all Expedition to *Rome*.

When Advice of all this was brought to *Julian*, it struck him into the deepest Dejection. He was told of the great Prowess and Number of the *Illyrian* Army; and despaired of any Succours

Julian's
Embar-
rassment.

Succours from the People, by whom he knew himself hated ; nor had he better Confidence in the Soldiers, whom he was conscious of having cheated. Collecting therefore all the Moneys he could get from his Friends, and pillaging the Temples and other public Places where any Treasure was contained, he resolved to distribute it to the Soldiers, to regain, if possible, their good Affection. They, indeed, received considerable Sums, but without thinking themselves at all beholden to him ; as they look'd upon it as a Payment of a former Debt, and not any additional Gratuity. His Friends likewise advised him to lead out the Army, and occupy the Defiles of the *Alps*. These are Mountains of a stupendous height, and such as are no where else seen in this Part of the World, stretching along in the Form of a Wall, and projecting over the Borders of *Italy* ; which, among other Blessings of Nature, enjoys the peculiar Advantage of having its Frontiers covered with this impregnable Munition, which rising from the Northern, reaches quite to the Southern Sea. But he was so far from following this Advice, that he durst not attempt to stir out of the City ; but sent to the Soldiers, intreating them to take their Arms, to exercise themselves, and to throw up Trenches before the City ; while himself made great Preparations, as if he designed to fight with *Severus* within the Gates. He endeavoured to teach the Elephants, kept for Pomp and Pageantry, to bear Riders, imagining he should frighten the *Illyrian* Soldiers, and put the Cavalry of the Enemy into Confusion at the Sight of such huge Beasts as they never had seen before : In a word,

the

the whole City was employed in making Arms, and providing all the Apparatus of War.

While *Julian's* Soldiers were thus taken up A Strata-
in only preparing for a War, News arrived, ^{gem of}
that *Severus* was approaching. He had dispersed ^{*Severus.*}
a great Part of his Army, with Orders to steal
secretly into the City; which they effected, by
taking different Roads, and disguising them-
selves in the Habit of Peasants; which cover-
ing their Arms, gave them Opportunity of pas-
sing in the Night-time unsuspected. By this
Stratagem, great Numbers of the Enemy lay
conceal'd within the Walls, while *Julian* was
too supine to suspect any thing of that nature.
But when the People were apprised of this, they
were all in great Consternation; and dreading
the Power of *Severus*, they pretended to be in
his Interest; condemning *Julian* for his Cow-
ardice, and *Niger* for his Remissness and In-
action; and at the same time astonished at *Se-*
verus's sudden Approach, whom they thought
as yet at a far greater Distance.

Julian was now in great Dread and Irresolution, *Julian is*
and quite at a loss how to proceed: He convenes ^{murder-}
the Senate, and dispatches Letters to *Severus*; in ^{ed.}
which he desires to come to a Treaty; salutes
him by the Title of Emperor, and offers to re-
ceive him as a Collegue in the Government.
The Senate consented to all this; but seeing the
wretched Timidity and abject Spirit of *Julian*,
they soon came over to the Interest of *Severus*;
and about two or three Days after, when they
heard he was at the Walls, holding *Julian* in
great Contempt, they met in full Frequence by
Order of the Consuls, who have the Admini-
stration of Affairs at *Rome* during the Time
of

A.D. 194. of an Interregnum: And being assembled, they debated about what Measures were to be taken. *Julian* was all this time in the Palace, bewailing his wretched Fortune, and begging he might have the Liberty of abdicating the Sovereignty, and transferring all his Power to *Severus*. But when the Senate were informed of his Despair, and that all the Guards had deserted him, they came to an Agreement to dispatch him, and declare *Severus* sole Emperor. Pursuant to these Resolutions, they send from the principal Magistrates, and the chief of the Senate, Ambassadors to *Severus*, to pay him all the Homage of a Sovereign; and at the same time, one of the military Tribunes is sent to kill *Julian*. The Officer enters the Palace, and finds the miserable timid old Man all alone, deserted by Guards and Friends; and while he was meanly crying and lamenting, falls upon him and murders him. Thus met *Julian* that evil End, which himself had unhappily purchased with his own Money.

Another
Stratagem
of *Severus*. When *Severus* was inform'd of the Determination of the Senate, and the Death of *Julian*, it rais'd his Mind into greater Hopes, and put him upon forming a Scheme, to take all the Murderers of *Pertinax* Prisoners. In order to this, he sends private Letters to the Tribunes and Centurions, containing great Promises, if they would persuade the City-Soldiers quietly to obey his Orders. In the mean time he publishes a Proclamation, commanding them to come out of the Camp, unarm'd, in a peaceable manner, as they were accustomed to attend their Emperor at a Sacrifice or Festival, and take the Oaths of Fidelity to *Severus*; and
at

at the same time insinuating, that they might conceive great Hopes of being his Body-Guard. The Soldiers were credulous enough to believe him, especially as they were over-persuaded by their Officers; and accordingly left their Arms, and came out of their Camp with Laurels in their Hands, and dress'd as when they march'd in Holyday-Procession. When they were come to the Camp of *Severus*, and he was informed they were all in the Field, he orders them to assemble, for that he designed to address himself to them in a Speech. Accordingly, he mounts the Rostrum: But as they were gathering about him with loud unanimous Acclamations, they were all, at a Sign given, taken into Custody. For *Severus* had ordered, that while they were standing and gazing at their new Emperor, and had their Minds suspended on what he was going to say, his Soldiers should surround them as so many Enemies, and, without wounding or striking any one, should inclose them in a Ring, and keep them fast, by pointing their Javelins and Spears towards the Centre; that so the Fear of being wounded might hinder them, unarm'd and few, from resisting those who had the Advantage of Arms and Number. When he thus caught them, as it were, in a Net of Arms, and had them all close Prisoners, with a loud Voice, and a furious Spirit, he accosted them in the following Manner.

“ You see, by Experience, how much we
 “ are your Superiors in Wisdom, Strength, and
 “ Number. We have taken you with Ease, and
 “ hold you Captives without the least Opposi-
 “ tion. You are henceforth to be considered
 “ as

His
 Speech to
 the Preto-
 rians.

“ as Victims to our Power; and the Decision of
“ your Fate is in my Hands. If you are now
“ thinking what Punishment is due to your
“ Crimes, ’tis impossible to find any Torture
“ adequate to your atrocious Guilt. You have
“ murdered with your own Hands that vene-
“ able old Man, that beneficent Prince, whose
“ Life it was your Duty, as his Guards, to
“ have defended. You have insolently sold by
“ Auction, as a piece of common Ware, that
“ glorious Empire of the *Roman* People, which
“ their Ancestors always either acquired by Vir-
“ tue, or, on account of their high Birth, ob-
“ tained by Succession. Nor had you either
“ Courage or Honour enough to protect him,
“ whom you chose for your Master; but have,
“ like shameless Cowards, deserted him. For
“ such Villainies, for such Insolence, ten thou-
“ sand Deaths were too light a Punishment, if
“ any one would inflict a Penalty equal to your
“ Demerits. What then you ought to suffer,
“ you plainly see. But I shall not imitate the
“ Example of your murderous Hands, by de-
“ filing my own with your Blood. And tho’
“ it would be derogative to Religion, and in-
“ compatible with Justice, that you should any
“ longer be the Emperor’s Guards; you, who
“ have broken the most sacred of Oaths; con-
“ taminated your Arms in Civil, in Imperial
“ Blood; violated your Faith, and betrayed
“ what was committed to your Defence; I shall
“ nevertheless spare your Lives: Receive them,
“ and the Freedom of your Bodies, as a Gift
“ of my unmerited Mercy. I hereby order my
“ Soldiers, whose Prisoners you are, to disgird
“ you, strip you of your military Dress, and
“ every

“ every the least Badge of a Soldier, and send
 “ you away naked; strictly charging you to
 “ retire into Countries very far distant from
 “ *Rome*. And I here solemnly swear by the
 “ Gods, that if one of you shall ever after be
 “ found within an hundred Miles of the City,
 “ his Life shall be the Forfeit taken for his
 “ Disobedience.”

Upon this solemn Denunciation, the *Illyrian* The Pre-
 torians
 cashier'd.
 Soldiers seized them, took away their Daggers,
 worn only for Ornament, and finely embellish'd
 with Gold and Silver; and having stript them of
 their Belts, Clothes, and every thing belonging
 to a Soldier, they sent them off naked. All
 this they were obliged to take patiently: For
 what could they do, thus craftily circumvent-
 ed, naked against armed, few against many?
 But though they look'd upon their Lives as a
 Gift of Fortune, yet they could not refrain la-
 menting the Ignominy of their Case; and curs-
 ing their own Credulity, which, by persuading
 them to come out unarmed, had betrayed them
 to this shameful Disgrace.

Severus had made use of another Stratagem:
 For fearing, after they were disgirded, stript,
 and cashiered, they might run back to their
 Camp, and take their Arms again; he dis-
 patched some of his Soldiers, whom he could
 best trust, with secret Orders to take the un-
 frequented By-ways, steal into their evacuated
 Camp, and seize upon their Arms; and, by
 shutting up the Gates, hinder them from re-
 entering, in case they should attempt it. Such
 was the Punishment inflicted on the Murtherers
 of *Pertinax*.

After

Severus
enters
Rome.

After this, *Severus* marched in Order of Battle with the rest of his Army to *Rome*: As soon as he appeared, he struck Terror and Astonishment into all the *Romans*, at the adventurous and successful Steps he had taken. The People and Senate, with Laurels in their Hands, received him, as the only Man, and first Emperor, that had atchieved such great Designs without Battle or Skirmish. Every thing in him appeared wonderful, but especially his prodigious Subtilty, his hardy Sufferance, and the strong Spirits and Hopes, with which he undertook the most daring Enterprizes. When he had received the usual Salutations of Honour from the Senate at the Gates of the City, he proceeded, amidst the loud Shouts and Applauses of the People, to the Temple of *Jupiter*; and having performed the accustomed Divine Service suitable to the Occasion, first there, and afterwards in all the other Temples in Order, he retired into the Imperial Palace.

The next Day he went to the Senate-house, and made a gracious Speech from the Throne, full of good Hopes, and the most pleasing Prospects, to every one both of public and private Character, telling them, “ He came to avenge
“ the Murther of *Pertinax*, and to found and
“ settle amongst them an Aristocracy; That
“ no one should henceforth suffer Death or
“ Proscription without a legal Trial; That he
“ would suffer no base Informers, but that he
“ would in all his Measures seek the true and
“ lasting Happiness of his People, imitating in
“ his Government the Example of *Marcus*;
“ and that in him they should find, not only the
“ Name, but the Virtues of *Pertinax* revived.”

By

By these fine Promises he gained the Credit and Assent of the greatest Part: But there were some of the elder amongst them who knew the Nature of the Man; and secretly foretold the rest, that they would find him a cunning shrewd Person, one that knew artfully to disguise his Sentiments, and to pretend and promise every thing that was conducive to his own Interest or Emolument. All which Premonitions were sufficiently justified in the Sequel.

When he had spent some Time at *Rome*, and shewed his Munificence by making liberal Congiaries and grand Entertainments to the People, and distributing great Donatives amongst his Soldiers; and had pick'd out the stoutest of these for his Imperial Guards, in the room of those he had cashiered; he gets every thing ready for an Expedition to the East; intending, while *Niger* was unprepared, and indulging himself in Pleasures and Diversions at *Antioch*, to surprize him unawares. Accordingly, he orders his Army to make the necessary Preparations; and in the mean time he raises Recruits from every Quarter, enlisting all the Prime of the several Cities of *Italy*, and sending to the Remainder of his Army in *Illyrium*, to make a Descent into *Thrace*, and there meet him. Nor did he omit to fit out from all the Ports of *Italy* a numerous Fleet of Galleys, which he mann'd with large Complements of Marines, and ordered to put to Sea. Thus he had collected, in a short Time, a prodigious Number of Forces; as well knowing, no small Power would be sufficient against all the Nations of the Continent opposite to *Europe*, who were in the Interest of *Niger*; and therefore he resolv'd to be

wanting in nothing, that was necessary for the carrying on a vigorous War.

Severus

uses artful
Measures
with *Al-*
binus.

But being a Man of great Penetration and Sagacity, he was not without Suspicion of some Disturbance from the Forces in *Britain*, consisting of Troops very formidable for Number and Prowess. These were all commanded by *Albinus*, a Man of Patrician Family, and brought up in Affluence and Luxury: Him *Severus* wanted greatly to circumvent, and flatter into his Interest; lest his great Wealth, the Nobleness of his Birth, the Force of his Army, and his universal Popularity among the *Romans* (all very powerful Incentives to Ambition) might encourage him to attempt setting himself at the Head of the Empire; and, as the Distance from *Britain* to *Rome* was not very great, while *Severus* was absent, and wholly taken up with the War in the East, he might come to the City and declare his Pretensions. He therefore lays a Bait of titular Honour, to lure *Albinus* into his Interest; and as he knew the Man to be of a very artless simple Mind, he writes him several Letters, full of Oaths and Promises; which the other was credulous enough to trust. To anticipate his Hope, and sooth his Vanity, he compliments him with the Title of *Cæsar*¹,

¹ The first fourteen Emperors of *Rome* were all called *Cæsars*, in Honour of *Julius Cæsar*. But in the Time of *Adrian*, the fifteenth Emperor, a new Method was taken, and only the Heirs, apparent or presumptive, of the Imperial Dignity, had the Title of *Cæsar*. For that Emperor, having adopted *Mellius Verus*, the Father of *Lucius Verus*, called him only *Cæsar*: Whereby he was declared his design'd Successor, without being made a Partner or Colleague in the Empire. The Title of *Augustus* was given to all the Emperors; but not to their appointed Successors, unless

thereby making him an Assistant in the Imperial Power. He prays him, in the most friendly Terms, to take extraordinary Care of the Empire in his Absence; for that there was great need of a Man of his Quality, Fortune, and Flower of Age, to take the Administration of Affairs; inasmuch as himself was now grown old, and often afflicted with the Gout; and his Sons as yet were but mere Infants. *Albinus*, with great Credulity and Fondness, accepted the Compliments, and thought himself extremely happy, thus to arrive at the Object of his Wishes, without War or Danger. And to confirm him in his Delusion, *Severus* laid the same before the Senate; and permitted Money to be coined with the Impression of *Albinus's* Image; had his Statues erected; and every other Mark of Honour paid him, that could any ways help to persuade him of the Reality of his Professions.

All things thus artfully settled with regard to *Albinus*, when there remained no more Apprehension of any Difficulties from the Side of

unless they were taken into Partnership with them in the Sovereignty. The two first Co-Emperors we read of, were *Marcus Antoninus* and *Lucius Verus*; who were both *Augusti*, and Collegues in the Sovereignty. The same *Marcus* afterwards made his Son *Commodus*, not only *Cæsar*, or Heir-apparent, but *Augustus*, or Co-partner in the Empire. The Women likewise were endowed with this Honour: For *Marcus* had his Wife *Faustina*, and his Daughters too, called *Augusta*. Nor had his Wife only the Name of *Augusta*, but also, *Mater Castrorum*, *Mother of the Camp*; a Title of as great Honour in the Military Government, as *Augusta* in the Civil.

Severus, therefore, gave *Albinus* the Title of *Cæsar*; by which he pretended, he design'd him his Successor, in case he should miscarry in his Expedition against *Niger*.

Britain; *Severus*, having with him his *Illyrian* Forces, and thinking every thing well provided to strengthen his Power, advances in his Expedition against *Niger*. His long and painful Marches, the Halts he made, his Speeches to the several Cities where he stopped, the frequent Prodigies and Signs which appeared, and the many Predictions and Omens supposed to be sent him from the Gods, the Descents he made into several Countries, the Oppositions he met, the Battles he fought, and the Numbers which fell on both Sides; have been pompously described by a great Number both of Historians and Poets; who have chosen the wonderful Incidents of *Severus's* Life for the Arguments of their several Compositions. But as my present Design is to collect the remarkable Transactions of many Emperors during the Course of seventy Years^m, which fell within the Com-

^m I cannot conceive what *Herodian* means by *seventy* Years; nor have I ever found it handsomely salved. In the Proem he speaks of the Revolutions which had happened in the Empire in the Space of *sixty* Years. 'Tis hard to reconcile this Difference, unless we suppose him to include ten Years of *Marcus's* Reign, or to continue his History ten Years after the Accession of *Gordian* to the Imperial Dignity; either of which seems absurd. I therefore suspect some Error in the Number here mentioned, a thing very common in all the Writings of Antiquity. For he must be very little acquainted with the ancient Copies both of sacred and profane Scripture, who has not discovered innumerable Passages, where the Text is grossly corrupted by Mutilations, Interpolations, Mistakes, and Alterations, not only with regard to Chronology (for that hardly ever escapes) but in Relations of Facts and Points of Doctrine. And though this is commonly charged on the illiterate *Librarii*, or *Copiers* (who, it must be own'd, were careless and ignorant enough) yet it too often visibly appears to be the Work of Persons of greater Authority,
done

pass of my own Knowledge ; conformable to this Plan, I shall in the following Sheets set down in Order only the principal and most memorable Actions of *Severus*, neither aggrandizing or extolling Matters for interested Views (as was the Custom of the Writers in his Time) nor extenuating or omitting any Circumstance worthy to be transmitted to Posterity.

done to serve some favourite Hypothesis ; or to serve particular Purposes of a darker Colour. However, as there appears no great Reason to suspect a design'd Corruption in this Place ; I am inclined to think it a Mistake of the Copiers. For 'tis uncontestedly certain, that the Time of our Author's History, as we have it at present, cannot include above sixty Years.

HERODIAN.

BOOK III.

A.D. 194.

THE Deaths of *Pertinax* and *Julian*, and the Return of *Severus* to *Rome*, have been related in the preceding Book, together with his Expedition undertaken against *Niger*; the News of which struck the latter with the utmost Consternation. He was amazed to hear, what he so little expected, that *Severus* had taken possession of the City; had been saluted Emperor by the Senate; and was now advancing against him with a very formidable Armament, consisting of all the *Illyrian* Power, and great Numbers of other Forces, both by Land and Sea.

Niger prepares for the War.

In this sudden Embarrassment, the first Step he took was to dispatch Orders to all the Governors in the respective Nations, to guard the Passes and Ports of their Countries. He then sent Embassies to the Kings of the *Parthians*, *Armenians*, and *Atreni*, to beg Auxiliaries. The *Armenian* answered, He designed to observe a strict Neutrality; and should think himself happy if he could defend his own Territories, especially as *Severus* was already approaching. The *Parthian* returned, That he would write to his Viceroy to collect Forces. This

was

was his Custom in any Emergency : For the *Parthians* never keep any Soldiers in constant Pay to compose a Standing Army. From the *Atreni* came some auxiliary Archers, sent by *Barsenius*, the then King of those Places. The rest of his Army consisted of all the standing Forces in those Parts, and a great Number of the raw Youth of the Country, especially of *Antioch* ; who, with a juvenile Forwardness, rather than Experience, enlisted under *Niger* out of a particular Zeal for his Service. He likewise gave Orders for fortifying the Straits and Precipices of *Mount Taurus* with strong Walls and Redoubts ; thinking the inaccessible Heights of the Mountain a good Defence to all the Passes of the East. For *Taurus*, passing between *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*, separates the Frontiers of the Northern and Eastern Nations. He at the same time detach'd a large Body of Forces to seize upon *Byzantium*, then the greatest and most flourishing City of all *Thrace*, exceeding populous and wealthy. For being a maritime Port, situated on the narrowest Strait of the *Propontis*, it raises a considerable Revenue from its Duties and Fishery : And possessing also a large Tract of very fruitful Land, it is enrich'd with the Gain of both Elements. This made *Niger* so desirous of taking possession of so important a Place, especially as he hoped, by being Master of *Byzantium*, he might cut off the Passage of the Enemy over these Straits from *Europe* into *Asia*. The City was fortified with high and strong Walls, built with *Milesian* Stones, so exactly squared, and closely cemented, that the Joints were not visible, but the whole Wall looked like one continuous Stone. The Rules

Description of
Byzantium.

of this curious Structure are yet to be seen; which strike the Passenger with a pleasing Admiration, while he contemplates at once the surprizing Art of the first Builders, and the great Power of those who afterwards demolish'd it.

Niger's
Troops
under *Æ-*
milian de-
feated.

While *Niger* thus managed the defensive Part with great Foresight, and (as he thought) as great Security, *Severus* advanced with all possible Expedition, leaving no room for Sloth or Inaction. When he received Advice that *Byzantium* was occupied, as he knew it to be a strong Fortrefs, he orders his Army to march to *Cyzicus*. Upon which, *Æmilian*, Governor of *Asia*, whom *Niger* had made Commander in Chief, and intrusted with the sole Management of the War, being informed of the Motion of the Enemy's Army, alters his Route, and marches likewise for *Cyzicus* with his whole Army, consisting of those himself had collected, and the Reinforcements sent him by *Niger*. When the two Armies met, several sharp and bloody Battles were fought in those Parts; which ended in favour of *Severus*. *Niger's* Soldiers were repulsed with great Slaughter; and this Defeat very much damp'd the Spirits of the Eastern Powers, and animated those of the *Illyrians*.

Some report, that *Æmilian* betrayed his Charge, and willingly suffered this first Check to *Niger's* Power: For which piece of Treachery they assign a two-fold Reason. Some impute it to Envy, and say, *Æmilian* could not bear the Thoughts of having him for his Lord and Sovereign, who had but just before succeeded him in the Government of *Syria*: Others assert, he was prevail'd upon by the Intreaty of his

his Sons, who had written to him, beseeching him to have regard to their Safety. *Severus* had seized these Youths at *Rome*, and had them now with him in Custody. For being a Person of uncommon Cunning, among other pieces of Policy he made use of this.

It was *Commodus's* Method, when he sent Governors into their several Provinces, to retain their Children with him at *Rome*, as so many Hostages for the Faith of their Parents. This *Severus* knowing, as soon as he got himself declared Emperor, while *Julian* was yet living, he took care to send secretly some of his Friends, to bring his Children by Stealth out of the City; that so they might not be in the Power of another: But immediately upon his entering *Rome*, he seized the Children of all the Pretors and others, who held any considerable Command in the East, or any part of *Asia*. These he kept in Custody, and brought with him; that either the paternal Affections of *Niger's* Officers might prevail with them to betray their several Trusts; or if they continued obstinately faithful, he might be beforehand with them in Mischief, and punish the Fathers, by spilling the Blood of their Children.

After this signal Defeat at *Cyzicus*, *Niger's* Forces were dispersed, and every one endeavoured to shift for himself: Some fled by the mountainous Parts of *Armenia*; others to *Galatia* and *Asia*, striving to pass the Eminencies of the *Taurus*, and get as soon as possible within the Fortifications; while *Severus* leads his Army through the Territory of *Cyzicus*, and penetrates into *Bithynia*, the adjoining Country.

The

Character
of the
Greeks.

The News of his last Victory, diffusing thro' these Parts, excited great Discord and Sedition in the several Cities; not so much from Zeal or Disaffection to either of the contending Princes, as from Rancour and Envy one towards another, the old Disease of the *Greeks*; whose mutual Malice and Civil Broils, together with that implacable Spite they always bore every Man of superior Abilities, ended in the total Ruin of their Country. For while their domestic Quarrels weakened their Strength, and consumed the very Vitals of their Constitution, they fell an easy Prey to the *Macedonians* first; and afterwards became Slaves to the *Romans*. This inveterate Evil transmitted its Venom to succeeding Ages, and reigned in our most flourishing Cities quite down to our own Times.

Niger's
Party de-
feated.

In *Bithynia* then, the Inhabitants of *Nicomedia*, immediately after the Action at *Cyzicus*, revolted to *Severus*; sending Ambassadors, that they were ready to receive his Army, and furnish every thing he was pleased to demand. They of *Nice*, on the other hand, out of Enmity to the *Nicomediens*, declared for *Niger*; and received his Forces, as well those who fled thither from *Cyzicus*, as the Garrison sent by *Niger* for the Defence of *Bithynia*. Thus, divided into two Parties, they issued out upon one another from their respective Cities, as from different Camps; and after a sharp and fierce Contest, *Severus* gained another Victory. *Niger's* Party was again routed; great Numbers were slain; and the rest fled with Precipitation to the Straits of *Taurus*, and guarded the Passes of the Mountain.

Niger

Niger, having left what Garrisons he thought *Mount* sufficient for the Defence of the Barriers, hastens *Taurus* with the Remainder of his Army to raise Re-^{besieged.} cruits and Money. In the mean time, *Severus* passes through *Bithynia* and *Galatia*, pours his Forces into *Cappadocia*, and sets down before the Fortification. This proved a very arduous Task. The Straitness and Ruggedness of the Passage made it impervious; and the Besieged, some from the Eminencies of the Mountain, threw down huge Stones on the Heads of the Assailants; others, from the Works on the Wall, strenuously maintained the Post, and tho' but few in Number, were able to dispute the Pass with a Multitude. For the Way was exceeding narrow, and covered on one side by a vast impending Mountain, and on the other by rapid Torrents of Water, continually rushing down from the Precipices: And *Niger* had taken care to fortify the Place with every kind of Works, that might hinder the Enemy from making an Irruption into the Country.

While Affairs were thus carried on in *Cappa-Laodicea* new Seditions were blown up from the ^{and Tyre} old Cause of mutual Enmity among the several ^{destroyed.} Cities. In *Syria* the *Laodiceans*, from their Hatred to the People of *Antioch*; and in *Phœnicia* the *Tyrians*, out of spite to the *Berytians*, being told that *Niger* was put to flight, pull'd down all his Statues and other honorary Ensigns, and declared publickly for *Severus*. When *Niger*, who was then at *Antioch*, was informed of these Defections; though he was otherwise a Man of a meek gentle Disposition, 'tis natural to suppose he was highly enraged. He resolv'd to revenge the Indignity offered him with the
utmost

utmost Severity ; and accordingly detached a strong Corps, consisting of all the *Moors* he had with him, who were excellent at the Dart, and a part of the Archers, with Orders to attack the two revolted Cities, put all they met to the Sword, plunder the Houses, and lay the whole Cities in Ashes. The *Moors* (as they are by Nature a savage Blood-thirsty Race of Men, despising Death and Dangers) fell upon the *Laodiceans* unawares, and, without the least Remorse, butcher'd all the Inhabitants, and rased the City. From thence they proceeded to *Tyre*, where they committed all kinds of Outrage and Slaughter amongst the Citizens ; and having first plundered the City, they set it on fire, and burned it to the Ground.

The Passes
of the
Taurus
gained.

While these Barbarities were acting in *Syria*, and *Niger* was levying all the Force he could collect, *Severus's* Army continued their Siege before the Mountain. His Soldiers were now greatly disheartened, and despaired of ever carrying the Place ; inasmuch as it was so strongly fortified both by Art and Nature, that they look'd upon it as impregnable. But while the Besiegers were harassed and spent with the fruitless Toil, and *Niger's* Soldiers imagin'd themselves secure ; all on a sudden, a violent Storm of Rain fell in the Night-time, mixed with great Quantities of Snow (for through all *Cappadocia*, and especially about the *Taurus*, the Winters are very severe) which rushing down in Cataracts from the Steeps of the Mountains, and its usual Vent being obstructed by the Fortifications, the Torrent swell'd, and bore with great Violence against the Works ; the Obstruction of which augmented its Force, till at length Art gave way

way to Nature; and the Load of Waters, pressing against the Wall, loosen'd its Cement and sap'd the Foundation (as it had been built in a great Hurry, and not with that Care the Situation demanded) and broke a Passage underneath. This the Besieged observing, and fearing, when the Torrent was abated, they might be surrounded by the Enemy, as they were now deprived of their Defence, they deserted their Posts and fled. This lucky Incident cheered the Spirits of *Severus's* Soldiers. They now concluded Divine Providence was their Leader; and perceiving the Place left defenceless, they got over the Eminencies of the Mountain, and without any Resistance penetrated into *Cilicia*.

Niger, being informed of what had happened, marches immediately to meet them, at the head of a very numerous, indeed, but a raw, unexperienced Army. For a great multitude of Recruits, and almost all the Youth of *Antioch*, had enter'd Volunteers into his Service: So that he had a sufficient Number of Soldiers, all ready and forward enough, but far inferior to the *Illyrian* Forces in Experience and hardy Valour. The two Armies met near what they call *The Bay of Issus*, in a large Plain, enclosed all round with Hills, except from the Part next the Sea, where it extends in a long and spacious Shore; as if Nature had formed this Spot for an Amphitheatre, where contending Powers might exhibit the tragic Scenes of War. Here, they say, *Alexander* gave *Darius* his great and final Overthrow^a; the Nations of the North

Niger
meets *Se-*
verus at
the Bay
of *Issus*.

^a The Bay of *Issus* lies on that Part of the *Mediterranean* Sea opposite to the North-East Extremity of the Island *Cyprus*. But our Author seems to be mistaken, in saying, this

then likewise defeating in the same Spot all the Eastern Powers. The Trophy and Monuments of that Victory remain to this Day. There is a City built on one of the Eminencies, and call'd *Alexandria*, with a Statue of Brass erected in honour of the Victor, from whom the Place took its Name. And it so happened, that not only *Severus* and *Niger* should come to an Encounter in the same Spot of Ground; but that the Fortunes of the different Nations should be the same now, as in the former Conflict.

Niger
is over-
thrown,
and kill'd.

Both Armies form'd in the Evening; and the important Crisis hinder'd either Side from taking any Rest all Night. At the rising of the Sun both advanced, each Leader encouraging and confirming his Soldiers; and a general Action soon ensued. They fell on with great Fury from all Parts, as this was to be the last decisive Battle, the Success of which was to determine the future Fate of the *Roman* Empire. The Dispute continued a long time very obstinate and bloody; and such Numbers were killed and wounded on both Sides, that the Streams of the Rivers, which ran through the Plains, rolled more Blood than Water into the Sea. At last the Eastern Nations were again routed; and the *Illyrians* drove great Numbers

this was the last Battle between *Alexander* and *Darius*. For *Quintus Curtius*, who lived in the Time of our Saviour, or soon after, makes *Arbela*, a City of *Assyria*, the Scene of the last Action between those two Powers. And *Arrian*, who wrote a little before *Herodian*, confirms the same. For speaking (Hist. vi.) of the Battle at *Arbela*, which he calls the last, he subjoins; Καθάπερ ἔν τε τὴν πρὸ ταύτης ἐν Ιερῷ, καὶ τὴν πρῶτην ἱππομαχίαν πρὸς Γρανίκῳ. *In the same manner as the Battle in Iffus before this; and the first Fight of the Cavalry at the Granicus.*

of them wounded into the Sea. The rest flying towards the Hills were pursued by the Conquerors; who cut them to pieces, together with a numerous Multitude of every sort, that had flock'd thither from the circumjacent Towns and Villages, to be idle Spectators of the Battle. *Niger*, being mounted on a generous Steed, fled with a few Followers to *Antioch*; where he found the Remainder of the People deserting the Place, and the whole City fill'd with Cries and Lamentations of Parents and Children, mourning the Loss of their Sons and Brothers. The melancholy Prospect depressed his Spirits. He immediately left *Antioch*; and hiding himself in a little obscure suburban Village, was found by a Party of the Enemy's Horse; who seized him and took off his Head. This unhappy End met *Niger*, as a Punishment for his Slowness and Negligence: For in every other respect he was, they say, not a bad Man, either in his public or private Capacity.

But *Severus*, after *Niger* was dead, punished all his Friends, and those who had adhered to his Interest, whether voluntarily or through necessity, with the most inexorable Severity. But hearing the Remainder of his Army had passed the *Tigris*, and, struck with Terror of *Severus's* Power, had gone over to the Barbarians, he recall'd them, by publishing a general Amnesty. For a great Number of them had enter'd into foreign Service. Which was the Cause, that the Barbarians, after this, were more formidable Enemies to the *Romans* in a close Engagement. Before, they knew only to shoot Arrows from their Horses, before them, when they advanced, and behind them, when they were pursued; but

were ignorant of the Use of Armour; wearing only a light careless Dress, and never daring to attack with Spears, or engage Sword in hand: But now a great Number of the *Romans*, many of whom were good Mechanics, flying to them for Protection, and afterwards residing in their Country, they learned from them, not only to use Arms, but also to make them.

Severus
attempts
to cut off
Albinus
by Treachery.

Affairs in the East being settled according to his Wish and as the present Circumstances seem'd to require, *Severus* longed to attack the King of the *Atreni*, and penetrate into the Country of the *Parthians*: Because both these Powers had assisted *Niger* in the War. But this he deferred till a more convenient Opportunity; thinking it best, first to bring over and confirm the whole *Roman* Empire in a close Adherence to himself and his Children. For *Niger* being dispatch'd, the only Obstacle that remained in his way was *Albinus*, who, he heard, began to assume a regal Grandeur, puffed up with the honourable Title of *Cæsar*; and, what he most disliked, he was informed, the principal Members of the Senate had sent him private Letters, inviting him to come to *Rome*, while *Severus* was absent and taken up with other Affairs. For all the Patricians preferred *Albinus* to the other, inasmuch as he was descended of a noble Family, and had the Character of a mild and well-natur'd Man. This though *Severus* greatly resented, yet he declined attacking the Man immediately in a public War, as he had no plausible Excuse for an open Rupture; but resolved to use a piece of Policy, and attempt to take him out of the way by Treachery. Pursuant to this Resolution, he sends some

some of the Couriers, whose Office was to carry the public Dispatches of the Emperors, and whom he knew hearty in his Interest, with Letters to *Albinus*, giving them secret Orders, to deliver the Letters in public, but watch an Opportunity to acquaint him, that they had Advices of a more secret Concern to communicate to him from *Severus*, and beg they might have the Liberty of speaking to him in private; which if he granted, when his Guards were ordered to withdraw, they should immediately fall upon him and kill him. He likewise gave them poisonous Drugs, with Instructions to tempt some of his Cooks or Cup-bearers to mix them with his Victuals, or infuse them secretly into his Drink. For his Friends always suspected *Severus's* Integrity, and were continually reminding *Albinus* to be very cautious how he treated with so perfidious a Person, who was capable of devising and executing every kind of Treachery. This Character they gathered from his late Behaviour to *Niger's* Officers; whose Children he held in Custody, as we have mentioned above; and after he had prevail'd upon them to betray their Prince, and do every thing as he instructed, when he got the whole Power into his own Hands, he basely murthered both them and their Children. Thus he discovered the Insincerity of his Mind by his Actions; which made *Albinus* keep a greater Number of Guards about his Person, and not suffer any of *Severus's* Messengers to come into his presence, till their Swords were taken from them, and their Bosoms searched for any Weapon that might be concealed under their Clothes.

Albinus
discovers
the Plot,
and de-
clares
War with
Severus.

When the Couriers arrived, and had delivered their Dispatches in public, and desired him to retire into a private Apartment, for that they had something of moment to impart to him in secret, *Albinus*, suspecting the Treachery, ordered them to be seized; and having put them to the Tortures, and by separate Examinations got an open Confession of the whole Plot, he punished the Ministers of it with Death, and immediately declared War against the Author.

When *Severus* was informed of what had happened, as he was a Person of a very passionate fiery Spirit, he no longer concealed his Hatred to *Albinus*; but having assembled his whole Army together, he delivered himself to them in Words to this purport.

Speech of
Severus
against
Albinus.

“ Let no one, from a retrospect View of my
“ past Actions, charge me with Levity or Rash-
“ ness; nor judge me now faithless and incon-
“ siderate towards him I once esteemed my
“ Friend. I have ever treated him with all the
“ Demonstrations of a sincere Affection, even to
“ the admitting him a Partner in my Throne;
“ an Act of such uncommon Generosity, that
“ you will hardly find a similar Instance between
“ the dearest and most affectionate Brothers.
“ That imperial sovereign Power, which you
“ thought proper to lodge in my Hands, I
“ condescended to share with him. For these
“ great Favours, so unworthily heap’d upon *Al-*
“ *binus*, he has made the most ungrateful Re-
“ turns. He is now taking up Arms, and col-
“ lecting Forces against us; at once discover-
“ ing, how contemptible an Opinion he enter-
“ tains of your Valour; how little he regards
“ his own Faith towards me; and what un-
“ bounded

“ bounded Ambition prompts him to attempt
“ the engrossing that whole Power, through ma-
“ nifest Hazard, the part of which he enjoyed
“ without War, and without Battle. Thus he
“ despises the Justice of the Gods by whom he
“ has sworn; is unconcerned at all the Toils
“ you have gloriously and virtuously born for
“ our Sakes; the good Fruits of which he has
“ already received in part; and might have
“ still expected a larger Share, had he conti-
“ nued faithful in preserving that Honour, by
“ you conferred both on him and me. But as
“ it is unjust to be the Authors of evil Actions;
“ so to bear them tamely, without punishing the
“ Aggressor, is the part of a Coward, and not
“ a Man. When we engaged in a War with
“ *Niger*, our Hostility was not so much ground-
“ ed on Injuries as Necessity. We did not hate
“ him for stealing a Power, of which we had
“ the prior Possession; but Fortune had staked
“ a Crown in the midst, and each Competitor
“ struggled for the Prize with a laudable Emu-
“ lation. But *Albinus*, breaking through all
“ the Ties of Leagues, of Oaths, of such Kind-
“ nesses heap’d upon him by me, as only Pa-
“ rents bestow on their Children, prefers En-
“ mity to Friendship, and chuses to be an E-
“ nemy to us, rather than one of the same Fa-
“ mily. As therefore we have honoured him with
“ our Favours, and invested him with Glories
“ he never deserved; so let us now, by the
“ Force of our Arms, convict his Falseness,
“ and expose his Weakness. For his feeble Ar-
“ my, composed only of a few raw Islanders,
“ will never be able to sustain the first Attack
“ of your Resentment. Is it reasonable to suppose

“ that you, who all alone, and unsupported by
 “ any thing but your own unparallel’d Valour,
 “ gained so many glorious Victories, and re-
 “ duced all the Nations of the East to subjec-
 “ tion, can, when joined by such strong Rein-
 “ forcements (for we have with us almost the
 “ whole *Roman* Power) fail to conquer and
 “ chastise an inconsiderable Number of Men,
 “ under the Command of a General endowed
 “ with neither Courage, Conduct, nor even
 “ common Sobriety? For who knows not his
 “ luxurious way of living, more suitable to a
 “ Keeper of Swine, than a Leader of Soldiers?
 “ Let us go then against him with unanimous
 “ Consent and Alacrity; having the Gods for
 “ our Auxiliaries, whose sacred Authority his
 “ Perjuries have violated; and remembering those
 “ Trophies we have so often raised for Victo-
 “ ries, which he has the Insolence and Folly to
 “ contemn.”

When he had spoken to them in this man-
 ner, the Soldiers all, with one Voice, exclaim’d,
Albinus was an Enemy; and, with loud Shouts
 and Applauses, signified their Approbation of
 the War, and their Readiness to undergo any
 Difficulties for *Severus*; who conceived the
 strongest Hopes of Success from their Alacrity,
 and, after distributing very large Donatives a-
 mongst them, begins his March against *Albi-*
nus.

Byzan-
tium de-
stroyed. At the same time he detaches a strong Body
 to lay Siege to *Byzantium*. For that City still
 remained shut up; and *Niger’s* Officers had fled
 thither after the last Overthrow. It was taken
 at last by Famine, and demolished. The The-
 atres, public Baths, and every Building of Or-
 nament

nament or Grandeur was destroyed, and *Byzantium* reduced to an open Village; and the Inhabitants given to the *Perinthians* for Slaves, as they of *Antioch* had been to the *Laodiceans*. He likewise sent great Sums of Money to repair the Cities which *Niger's* Army had destroyed.

But himself proceeded in his March against *Albinus*, sparing no Labour, nor regarding Holy-days; equally despising Cold and Heat. Often times he push'd his way over cold and high Mountains, marching bare-headed amidst severe Sleets and Snows, exciting Alacrity and Fortitude in the Soldiers by his own Example. So that they endured the Hardships, not only from a Motive of Fear or Duty, but to emulate the exemplary Courage of their bold and enterprizing Sovereign: Who likewise dispatched a strong Party to the *Alps*, to occupy the Defiles of those Mountains, and secure their Entrance into *Italy*.

All this time *Albinus* was indulging himself in Security and Pleasure: But when he received the News of *Severus's* near Approach, it put him into great Confusion. However, he embark'd his Forces with all possible Expedition, and landed on the Coast of *Gaul*, opposite to *Britain*; where he encamped, and dispatched circular Letters to all the neighbouring Nations, commanding their respective Governors to raise the necessary Contributions of Money and Provisions for the Army. These Orders some of them complied with, to their own Destruction (for they afterwards felt the fatal Effects of *Severus's* Resentment) others refused, and by good Fortune, rather than Foresight, were saved for

their Disobedience : For Chance and the Event of the War determined the good or bad Policy of the Parties.

The Battle
at *Leam*,
where *Al-*
binus is
killed.

Several Skirmishes happened in different Places, as soon as *Severus's* Troops came into *Gaul*; but the decisive Stroke was given near *Tyons*, a great and flourishing City; from which *Albinus* sent out his Forces to take the Field, but remained himself within the Walls. The Action was bloody and obstinate; Victory long remained doubtful; and either Party seem'd to have met their Match. For the *Britons* are nothing inferior to the *Illyrians* in Valour and Fierceness. In this hardy Conflict between two such powerful Armies, the Fortune of the Field was not easily decided. And, as the Writers of those Times relate (at least such of them as had greater regard to Truth than Interest in their Histories) the main Body of *Albinus's* Army had much the Advantage: For *Severus* was repulsed, and the whole Corps under his Command entirely routed; himself flying with Precipitation fell from his Horse, and was obliged to throw off his Imperial Robe, the better to conceal his Person. But the victorious *Britons*, pursuing the Foe, and rejoicing with loud Ovation at their Success, a strong Body of fresh Forces came up, under the Command of *Lælius*, *Severus's* General; who, as they report, had designedly staid behind with his Corps, to watch the Event of the Battle; and as soon as he heard *Severus* was beaten, advanced with his fresh Forces to charge the Victor-Army, and regain the Empire, not for *Severus*, but himself. And, indeed, the ensuing Circumstances seemed to confirm this Report: For afterwards, when *Se-*

verus had gained the Victory, and settled every thing according to his Wish, he liberally rewarded all his other Officers for their good Services, but put *Lætus* to Death, probably as a Punishment for his intended Treason. But not to anticipate my Story, *Lætus*, appearing with his new Reinforcement, gave *Severus's* Soldiers fresh Spirits. *Severus* was remounted on his Horse, and array'd again in his Imperial Robe. *Albinus's* Soldiers, thinking the Victory completely gained, had broken their Order, and were too inconsiderately pursuing the Enemy; when all on a sudden, this additional Body of fresh Troops came up, and charged them so vigorously, that after a short Resistance they were obliged to give way ^b. The whole Face of Affairs was now altered: *Severus's* Troops pursued the late Victors quite to the City, cutting to pieces all they overtook. The Number

^b *Dio* very differently relates this Affair; and, indeed, with greater Verisimilitude. He tells us, that *Lætus* kept aloof with his Corps, to see what would be the Event of the Battle: But when he saw *Severus* rally his Troops, and return to the Charge with fresh Vigour, he then advanced with the Forces under his Command, as fearing the Effects of *Severus's* Resentment; who, contrary to his Hopes, he found, was likely to gain the Victory. Concerning the first Repulse, he asserts, that the Right Wing of *Severus's* Army was broken and put to flight; which *Severus* observing, flew with the Pretorian Cohorts to their Assistance; but he adds, Τούτῳ δὲ εὐέησεν αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑλπίδος, ὥστε καὶ δυσφορεῖς ἐλπίας διὰν προσσπώλεσε, καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλὼν ἐκινδύνευσεν ὡς ὃ εἶδεν φευγῆαι πάντας τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ, τὴν χλαμύδα περιβέβηκεν, καὶ τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος εἰς τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐσπένθησε. So far was he from helping them, that he was very near losing all his Life-Guards; and himself, having dismounted from his Horse, was in the nearest Danger: But when he found his whole Army routed, he tears his Robe, and, with his drawn Sword, springs in upon them as they were flying.

of the Kill'd, Wounded, and Prisoners, is vague, and varies according to the Fancy or Prejudice of the Historians of that Time. *Severus's* Men plunder'd and burnt the City *Lyons*, seized *Albinus*, and having taken off his Head, carried it to *Severus*. Thus they raised the Trophies of two great Victories; the one gained over the Nations of the East, and this, so soon after, obtained in the North.

Severus
compared
with
former
Emperors

Here I cannot but remark, that we shall hardly find the Atchievements of *Severus* parallel'd in History; whether we consider the Multitude of the Forces, the Commotions of the Nations, the Number of his Battles; or the Length, Difficulty, and Expedition, of his Marches. The Battles of *Cæsar* against *Pompey*, when, on both Sides, the Military Power of the *Romans* was engaged; those of *Augustus* against *Mark Anthony*, and the Sons of *Pompey*; or, to go further back, the sharp and bloody Contests, both of the *Romans* and other Nations, in the Civil Wars between *Sylla* and *Marius*; all these, we must own, were great and wonderful; But for one Man to depose and cut off three Princes, already invested with Imperial Power; to circumvent, by a cunning Stratagem, a whole Army at *Rome*; to dispatch one of those Princes in his own Imperial Palace; to overthrow another at a Time when he was Master of all the East, and saluted Emperor by the *Romans*; and to vanquish a third, great not only in the Name, but the Power of *Cæsar*; these are Successes hard to be match'd, and such as Fortune seem'd to have reserved for *Severus* only. But to proceed.

Such

Such was the End *Albinus* met; after enjoying a Dignity of fatal Consequence, and of short Duration. After his Death, *Severus* entertain'd a vindictive and implacable Spirit towards all his Friends; and sending his Head to *Rome*, he ordered it to be stuck up publicly on a Pole; and in the Letter he wrote to acquaint the People of his Victory, he adds at the Bottom, "That he sent the Head to be stuck up in
" public View, that they might look on that
" Spectacle of his Wrath; and see, in the Ex-
" ample of *Albinus*, what his other Enemies
" might shortly expect."

Soon after, when he had settled Matters in A.D. 195. *Britain*, and given the Administration of Affairs there to two Governors; and had order'd every thing in *Gaul* as he thought proper; having put to Death all who had favour'd *Albinus*, whether voluntarily or by Compulsion, and confiscated their Effects, he hastens to *Rome*; taking with him all his Army, in order to strike the greater Terror. He march'd, as was his Custom, with incredible Expedition, breathing Resentment and Rage against all the surviving Friends of *Albinus*. In this furious manner he rode into the City; where the People received him with Laurels, and all other possible Demonstrations of Honour; and the whole Senate address'd him with Titles of Homage; though the greatest Part conceived the most dreadful Apprehensions of his Anger, expecting little Mercy from one, whose Nature, they knew, was cruel and vindictive to the last degree; who loved to do Mischief upon the slightest Occasions; and was now not unfurnish'd with plausible Excuses.

After

Severus
indulges
the Sol-
diers in
Luxury.

After visiting the Temple of *Jupiter*, and finishing the other accustomed Sacrifices, he retires to the Palace; and there appoints magnificent Congiaries for the People on account of his Victories; and large Donatives to be distributed to his Soldiers; to whom he granted many other Gratifications they had never received before: For he first augmented their Allowance of Corn; permitted them to wear Gold Rings, and to cohabit with their Wives. All which Indulgences were reckoned very improper to render an Army vigilant, active, and ready for War. He was the first that enervated their Strength, corrupted their hardy Living, made them obey Orders of Difficulty with Reluctance, subverted their Discipline, destroyed all Reverence to their Superiors, taught them Avarice and Robbery, and quite reduced them to Luxury and Wantonness.

His Cru-
elty and
Avarice.

After he had ordered every thing as he thought proper, he goes to the Senate-house, and being seated on the Imperial Throne, delivers a bitter Accusation against the Favourers of *Albinus*; producing some of their secret Letters, found in his 'Scritiores after his Death. Some he accused with having sent him too valuable Presents; to others he objected their Familiarity with several Persons of Note in the East; some were charged, among other things, with too close an Acquaintance with *Albinus*; in a word, varying the Indictments, so as every Circumstance might appear in a clearer colour of Probability, he found Occasion to put to Death all the principal Members of the Senate, and every one of extraordinary Wealth and Distinction in the several Nations under his Jurisdiction.

dition. His Excuse for all this Barbarity was, that he only executed his just Resentment on his Enemies ; but the real Motive was, his excessive Avarice ; to which no King before him was ever so much a Slave. For as he was inferior to none of the most illustrious Princes, in Courage, Fortitude, Perseverance in Labours, and military Skill ; so he exceeded them all in Greediness of Riches, and Thirst after Blood, which he loved to shed even upon the most frivolous Occasions. Thus he chose Fear, rather than Benevolence, for the Basis of his Government : And yet took care to gratify the Inclinations of the Populace, by exhibiting all kinds of expensive and magnificent Shews ; at some of which were slain several hundreds of wild Beasts, the Breed of our own and foreign Countries. His Largesses were frequent and profuse. He instituted a very grand and pompous Trial of Skill on account of his Victories ; at which were present the best Performers of dramatic, musical, and athletic Exercises, sent for from all the Countries near or remote.

In his Time we saw certain ^c Games, exhibiting Spectacles of every sort in all the Theatres

Secular
Games.

A.D. 199.

^c There is hardly any thing in Antiquity more obscure and perplex'd, than the Accounts of the *Institution, Period, and Name* of the *Secular Games*.

Valerius Maximus, lib. ii. c. 4. tells a long Story of their *Institution* ; the Substance of which is ; That a Countryman among the *Sabines*, in the Time of a Plague, being ordered, by a Voice, to carry his two Sons and a Daughter, who were at the point of Death, down the River *Tiber*, and cherish them with warm Water at the Altar of *Dis* (or *Pluto*) and *Proserpine* at *Tarentum*, after some Reluctance, takes the three Children on board a Vessel, and lands at a Place, near the *Campus Martius*, call'd *Tarentum*. The Father

at once; together with those sacred nocturnal Rites performed in imitation of the *Eleusinian* Mysteries. These Games the Men of those times

ther warms some Water, and gives it to his sick Children; who upon drinking it fell into a Sleep, and awaked in good Health. *Valerius* (for that was the Countryman's Name) having found an Altar, twenty feet under ground, inscribed to *Dis* and *Proserpine*, performs the *Black Sacrifices* to these infernal Deities, pursuant to the Orders of a Vision seen by the Children in their Sleep; and after the Sacrifices were finished, buries the Altar again in the Ground. The Author goes on to relate, that *Valerius Poplicola*, one of the first Consuls of *Rome*, in the Year of the City (according to *Livy* and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*) 245, sacrificed on the same Altar to *Pluto* and *Proserpine*, in order to deliver the People from the Pestilence; and instituted sacred nocturnal Games for three Nights, after the Example of the Countryman, who had equal'd the Number of Nights to that of his Children. *Zosimus*, lib. ii. *in principio*, tells the same Story with some Variation; but will have the Sacrifices of the Countryman to have been performed many Years before the Games of *Valerius*. All we can gather from these dark fabulous Accounts is, that the Custom was so old, that the *Romans* themselves were ignorant of the Cause and End of it's Institution. Nor is this to be wonder'd at; since there is the same Uncertainty with regard to several *Christian* Festivals; the ancient Popes, and Fathers of the Church, according to their different Fancies, rejecting old Feasts, introducing new, and often altering one for another.

First time
of their Ce-
lebration,
A. U. 245.

The *Period* of the Secular Games, or the Revolution of Years between their Returns, is as uncertain as their Institution. 'Tis plain, the *Romans* thought they were intended to be celebrated but once in the same Generation of Men. For when they were proclaimed, the *Prætor*, or *Crier*, invited the People to come to Games, *Quos nec spectasset quisquam, nec spectaturus esset*; Which none of them had seen, nor would again see. *Zosimus* fixes the second time of their Celebration in the Year of the City 352, when *Marcus Porcius Cato* was the fourth time Consul. But *Livy* gives us not a word of them in that Consulate. Nor, indeed, do I remember to have met with any plain Mention of them in any part of *Livy's* History that is now extant. *Florus* (or whoever

Second time,
A. U. 352.

call'd *Secular*, being told, that they were to be celebrated once in three Ages. Heralds were therefore dispatch'd through all *Rome* and *Italy*,

whoever is the Author of the *Epitome* to *Livy's* 10th Book) Third time, mentions the Games at *Terentum* celebrated to *Father Dis* A. U. 501. in the Year of the City 501. This was 148 Years after the second time. The same *Epitomist* speaks of them there, Fourthtime, as celebrated 100 Years after, viz. A. U. 601. which can A. U. 601. be but their fourth Celebration. If they were repeated between this time and that of *Augustus Cæsar*, to make his Period answer the 110 Years quoted by *Horace* and *Zosimus* from the *Sibylline* Verses, it must be in the Year of *Rome* 627, but twenty-six Years after the former. But 'tis more reasonable to think they were omitted; because *Suetonius*, in *August.* c. 31. reckons them among other antiquated Customs which *Augustus* restored. The same Author observes, in *Claud.* c. 21. that *Claudius*, in the History of his own Times, expressly says, they had been intermitted, and were reduced again to their proper Period by *Augustus*. This Emperor celebrated them in the Year of the Fifth time, City 737, according to *Dis*, about fifteen Years before *Christ*. A. U. 737. Sixty-three Years after this, *Tacitus* tells us, *Annal.* xi. c. 11. *Claudius* repeated them; but the Reason of his doing it after so short a Space, the Historian says he had given in his History of *Domitian's* Reign: When they were again celebrated; and *Tacitus* himself was a *Quindecimvir*, one of the fifteen Persons appointed to inspect the Books of the *Sibylls*, and manage the Solemnity according to their Interpretations of these Oracles. But Time has deprived us of that part of *Tacitus's* Works, that contained the promised Account. *Suetonius* relates, that *Claudius* thought them anticipated by *Augustus*, and that his was the proper Year for their Celebration. For 799 Years being then elapsed since the building of *Rome*, 'tis probable, *Claudius* judg'd, Sixth time, they ought to be repeated at the Close of every Century; A. U. 800. and therefore made choice of the 800th Year for their proper Period. After him *Domitian*, as we before observ- Seventhtime ed, celebrated the Secular Games in the Year of the City A. U. 841. 841, about forty Years after those of *Claudius*. Severus Eighth time was the next that had them celebrated, 110 Years after- A. U. 951. wards, viz. in the Year of *Rome* 951, which are the Games our Author here mentions. But the Account he gives of them is so very dark and abrupt, his Words so obscure, and

summoning the People to come and be Spectators of Things they never had seen before, nor would again see ; since the intermediate Space

and their Construction so uncouth, that I am persuaded the Copies are mutilated (as are those of *Zosimus* on the same Subject) and that *Herodian* was talking of their Institution. Otherwise I cannot conceive why he should say, they were call'd *Secular* in *Severus's* Time, as if the Name were not given them long before ; nor why he should chuse to call the Men of his own Age, Οἱ τότε, *Those who lived then.*

Ninth time, The last time (at least that can be depended on) I read of
A. U. 1001. the Celebration of these Games, is in the Reign of *Philip*, 1000 Years from the building the City, and fifty after those of *Severus*. Though even this is denied by *Zosimus* ; who says, they were never repeated after the Time of *Severus* ; and therefore he imputes the Declension of the *Roman* Power, and all the Calamities which beset the State under the *Christian* Emperors, to the Neglect of the *Secular* Games ; on which the Welfare and Security of the Empire depended. Nor, indeed, does *Eutropius* say, the Games of the *Philips* were the *Secular* ; but only, that in the Reign of these Emperors, *The Thousandth Year of Rome was celebrated with a magnificent Apparatus of Games and Spectacles.* Which *Julius Capitolinus* and *Aurelius Victor* expressly call the *Secular Games*.

From all these various Periods it appears, the *Romans* did not tie themselves to any fixt Number of Years for the Celebration of these Games. *Horace*, in one of his *Secular Songs* composed for this Solemnity in the Time of *Augustus*, seems to make the Period 110 Years. But the same Poet hints, the Books of the *Sibylls* commanded them to be celebrated at that Time by *Augustus*. His Words are,

*Tempore sacro,
Quo Sibyllini monuere versus
Virgines lætas, puerosque castos
Ditis, quibus septem placuisse colles,
Dicere carmen.*

What time the *Sibylls* Books advise,
That Virgins fair and virtuous Boys
Should hymn the Gods, our Guards
from Ills,
The Gods, who love the seven Hills.

The next thing to be considered is, why they were call'd *Secular* ; which if we can find out, it will give us some Light into their Origin : For the *Names* of religious Feasts commonly bear some Allusion to the End for which they were instituted. The *Latin* Word *Seculum*, an Age, may come either a *secundo*, from cutting, or *sequendo*, following ;

between the Celebration of the present, and the Revolution of the ensuing Feast, far exceeded the longest Period of human Life.

following; it being a *Division*, or *Succession* of Times. Or it will amount to much the same, if we say, with *Varro*, 'tis derived *a senescendo*, from *waxing old*; and is used to signify the whole Duration of any thing to which it is applied. When relative to Man, the Term is very vague, according to the different Opinions of Writers. *Varro*, de ling *Lat.* lib. v. *Festus*, lib. xvii. and *Censorius*, de die Nat. lib. vi. make it 100 Years: And *Ovid*, Metam. l. xii. Fab. iv. in allusion to *Homer's* δύο γένε'—*ἀνθρώπων* (*Iliad.* i.) *Two Generations of Men*, makes *Nestor* say; *Vixi annos bis septem; nunc tertia vivitur ætas. I have lived two hundred Years; and am now living the third Age.* The learned *Turnebus* is so much of this Opinion, that he thinks, *Seculum* was derived from *ἐκατόν*, *an hundred*. Other Authors (of whom *Herodian* seems to be one) will have that Space to contain three Ages, as if an Age was not quite thirty four Years. Be this as it will, I am of opinion, the Epithet *Secular* was given these Games, not so much to denote any certain Term of Years, in which they were to return, as to intimate, that they were to invoke the Gods for the Preservation of the *Roman State* from *Age to Age*; or, according to the Phrase of one of their own Writers, *cum ÆTERNITATE mundi*, *with the ETERNITY of the World.* *Herodian* calls them *αἰωλες*; which is the Word the *English* Translators of the *New Testament* render *Everlasting*, in strict Propriety *Secular*, or *Age-lasting*: For the *English* Particle, *Ever*, manifestly comes from the *ævum* of the *Latins*, that is the *Greek αἰών*, *an Age*. From *ævum* the *Latins* form'd *ætas*, or, as we find it in *Cicero*, *ævitas*; from whence comes *æviterinitas*, or, contracted, *æternitas*, *Eternity*, a kind of Series or Assemblage of *Ages*. And 'tis worth observing, that we Mortals cannot find any Words to express a Duration longer than the Term of particular finite Beings. For if we say, *eternal*, or *everlasting*, 'tis plain, from what has been said, we cannot get off from the Idea of *an Age*. If we express it negatively by, *sine fine*, *without End*, *infinitum*, *Infinite*, *Never*, i. e. *no Ever*, we still express the very Term we would avoid; and our Idea (if we have any) immediately lays hold on that Term, and in all beyond is presently lost. Of this Authors have
been

Severus's
Expedi-
tion to the
East.

When he had spent some Time at *Rome*, and had taken his Sons as Partners with him in the Sovereignty, and declared them Emperors; un-

been well aware; and have therefore endeavour'd, but in vain, to help it by Multiplication of Terms, such as; *ᾧ αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, *in secula seculorum*, *aux siècles des siècles*; *For Ages of Ages*, or *for ever and ever*. The *Latins* particularly have endeavoured to stretch their Ideas, and tack Words together to express them by. Thus *Terence* makes use of *Sempiternus*, from *Semper*, and *æternus*; and *Plautus* expresses *Eternity* by *omnis ætas*, *every Age*. In the *Old Testament*, *Age* or *Ever*, is expressed by עוֹלָם. Thus what we translate, *It shall be a Statute for ever*, is in the Original, עוֹלָם קָדִים, *The Statute of an Age*; intimating, the Ceremony shall not be once used and then abolished, but it shall remain a fixed Custom in your State for ever. The *Hebrews* always express *Age* or *Eternity* by Words coming from Roots that imply Obscurity, Superiority, or Prevention: עוֹלָם signifies *to be hid*, יָגַל to *overcome*, עָלָה to *outstrip* or *go beyond*; as if the Word *ETERNITY* outstrip'd us, or left our Ideas short. And when they speak of God, they often use the Particle אֲדָמָה *Ad, Unto*, to signify *Eternity*, as in *Isaiah*, lvii. 15. אֲדָמָה וְשָׁמַיָּא וְאֶרֶץ, *The high and lofty [One] that inhabits UNTO*: As if he had said, *Unto* what Men can have no Idea of. But to resume.

The Secular Games were as sacred among the *Romans*, as the *Eleusinia*, or mystic Rites of *Ceres*, were in *Greece*. That they were instituted to pray for the Eternity of their State, appears not only from their Name, but the Manner of their Celebration. After the Sacrifices performed, first in the *Campus Martius* to the Infernal Deities, on whom the Stability of all human Affairs was supposed to depend, and then to the other Gods, the Theatrical Sports were held, in honour of *Apollon* and *Diana*, to whom these Games were principally dedicated; and in their Temples the Boys sang Hymns in honour of the former, and the Girls of the latter. For these two Deities, viz. the Sun, and the Moon, presiding over the Day and the Night, by the alternate Revolutions of which all Time, or Age is measured, the *Romans* chiefly implored their Protection for the Perpetuity of their Empire. Yet did they not exclude the rest of the Gods from sharing in the religious Honours. But

as

satisfied with the Honour of Victories obtained in Civil Wars, and over *Roman* Armies, for which he was even ashamed to triumph; he re-

as the Churches of *Rome* and *England* have Festivals appropriated to particular Saints, and one, named *All-Saints*, to comprehend the whole Hierarchy; so the ancient *Romans*, besides their Feasts to particular Gods, held this universal Solemnity in honour of all the tutelar Deities of *Rome* at once; to implore, as it were, their united Power to perpetuate their Empire, and as *Horace*, in the *Secular Song*, expresses it; *Meliusque semper prorogat ævum*, Continue every AGE better and better.

Upon the whole, the best Account of the *Secular Games* seems to be this: That they were Solemnities instituted in the third Century after the building of the City; to be repeated in different *Generations*, at such *Periods*, as their Governors and Priests judged proper from the Situation of their Affairs, and the Orders of the *Sibylline* and other Oracles; and that all the Gods of their Country, especially the *Sun* and *Moon*, were to be invoked at these Periods, and prayed to continue the *Roman* Power to ETERNITY.

I cannot dismiss this Subject without giving the *English* Reader a Translation of those Verses of the *Sibylls*, as they are delivered down by *Zosimus* (who lived in the Time of the Emperor *Honorius*, about 400 Years after *Christ*) because they contain a full and particular Description of the several Ceremonies observed at the Celebration of the *Secular Games*, and a clear Account of the End for which they were instituted.

But soon as Years revolve elev'n times ten,
 (The longest Life allow'd the Sons of Men)
 Remember, *Roman*, who thy Friends have been,
 Nor let Oblivion lull thee into Sin.
 To all the Gods be grateful Victims slain,
 Where swelling *Tyber* laves the sacred Plain,
 What time the Night contracts her shortest Shade,
 And *Sol* in Western Waters hides his Head.
 First to the *Fates*, who from the Deep proceed,
 Let Lambs and Goats, of dusky Blacknels, bleed:
 Propitiate next, as holy Rites ordain,
 The fair *Lucina*, lovely, genial Train!
 From whose kind Pow'r the Breeds of Nature come,
 And full-form'd Infants force the teeming Womb.

solved to attempt some foreign Conquest, and raise Trophies against the Barbarians. Accordingly he sets out on an Expedition to the East against *Barsenis* King of the *Atreni*, grounding his Quarrel on the Assistance that Monarch had given *Niger*. When he came to the Frontiers of *Armenia*, he designed to pour in his Troops, and scour the Country; but was prevented by the King of the *Armenians*, who sent him large

To Parent *Earth*, who feeds and nurtures All,
 A well-fed Hog, and sable Sow must fall.
 Give *Jove* his milk-white Bulls; but not by Night:
 For Pow'r's celestial love the Works of Light.
 Then to the Altars of the *Queen of Heaven*
 Be comely Cows, and Beeves unblemish'd driven.
 The like just Honours be to *Phæbus* done,
Latona's Offspring, call'd by Men *The Sun*.
 Let chearful Crowds the sacred Temples throng;
 And praise th' immortal Pow'rs in grateful Song.
 While beauteous Boys and Girls, in parted Trains
 Resound alternate with responsive Strains;
 Fair, blooming Choirs! whom no Misfortunes grieve;
 Whose Friends all flourish, and whose Parents live.
 Let all the Matrons, bound in Marriage-tie,
 At *Juno's* Altars prone and prostrate lie;
 For both the Sexes put forth pious Pray'r:
 But move the Goddesses most to guard the Fair.
 This solemn Day unlock thy choicest Stores;
 And bring forth First-fruits to th' immortal Pow'rs.
 The treasur'd Tributes shall thy Welcome prove
 With subterranean Gods, and Gods above.
 Within whose sacred Seats promiscuous meet:
 Both Males and Females join the jovial Treat.
 By Day, by Night, frequent each blest Abode;
 And every Mortal be the Guest of God.
 No dull Disguise, no forc'd affected Air:
 Be gay, be serious; mingle Mirth with Care.
 Now, *Roman*, go; perform thy destin'd Part,
 And grave these useful Precepts in thy Heart.
 Then *Italy*, and *Latium*, shall obey;
 And *Rome* shall rule with EVERLASTING Sway.

Sums of Money, and other valuable Presents, beseeching *Severus* to accept him as an Ally, promising inviolable Faith and Amity; to ratify which, Hostages were sent at the same time with the Presents. As soon as he had settled every thing with the *Armenian* according to his Desire, he advances immediately against the *Atreni*. Upon his March, *Augarus* King of the *Osroëni* fled over to him, bringing his Sons for Hostages of his Faith, and a great number of Archers as Auxiliaries. *Severus*, having passed through all *Mesopotamia* and *Adiabene*, makes a Descent upon *Arabia the Happy*, so call'd from its abounding in odorous Herbs, and all the rich Spices and Perfumes which we make use of. Here he sacks many Villages and Cities, lays waste the Country round about; then penetrates the Frontiers of the *Atreni*, and sets down before *Atræ*, a City situated on the Summit of a very high Mountain, surrounded by a strong Wall, and garrison'd with a great multitude of expert Archers.

Severus's Army invested the Place; and carried on their Operations with the utmost Ardour, resolved, if possible, to reduce it. No kind of Works was omitted; Engines of every sort were vigorously applied to the Walls, which the Besieged, on the other hand, as bravely defended; sending Showers of Arrows and Stones from the Eminences, which greatly annoyed the Enemy; and throwing down a sort of earthen Vessels, fill'd with little venomous winged Creatures; which lighting on their Faces, or any other naked part of the Body, and creeping under their Clothes, stung the Soldiers, and inflicted Wounds not only painful

but dangerous. This Plague was seconded by another : For the *Romans*, unable to bear the thick unwholesome Air, occasioned by the excessive Heat in those Parts, were seized with a contagious Distemper, that carried off greater Numbers than the Hand of the Enemy. Afflicted with all these complicated Evils, the *Roman* Soldiers were very languid and tardy in their Operations, and rather lost ground than advanced ; so that *Severus* was obliged to raise the Siege, and draw off his Forces, before they all perished. The Army was sadly dejected at this Disappointment ; and being hitherto accustomed to carry all they attempted, they now look'd upon themselves as conquered, because they had fail'd to conquer.

Ctesiphon
taken by
Surprize.

But Fortune, *Severus's* ready Patroness, soon comforted them ; and they were so far from returning home with nothing done, that they effected greater Things than they hoped. For the whole Army being embarked in a numerous Fleet, and bound for the *Roman* Coasts ; a strong adverse Current forced the Vessels from their destin'd Course, and drove them upon a Part of *Parthia*, distant but a few days Journey from *Ctesiphon*, the royal City of the *Parthians* ; where the King then resided in a State of Peace, quite unconcern'd at the Quarrels of *Severus* with the *Atrani* ; which he supposed could no ways affect him ; and therefore was unprovided, as he thought he had nothing to fear. Nor had *Severus* any Design to land on his Coast, before he was driven thither by the Rapidity of the Current. But upon his Arrival he immediately debarks his Forces, makes an Incurſion upon the Country, lays waste the
Fields,

Fields, seizes all the Cattle he meets, for the Subsistence of the Army, and sets fire to every Village in his Way. Advancing in this hostile manner, he came in a short time to *Ctesiphon*; where was the great King *Artabanus*. The *Romans*, as they had come upon the Barbarians thus unprepared, put all they met to the Sword, and, having plunder'd the City, carried away the Children and Women captive. The King fled with a few Horse, leaving behind him the royal Treasures of Money, rich Furniture, and other very valuable Effects; which all fell into the Hands of the *Romans*. Thus *Severus* was honoured with a Victory over the *Parthians*; which was rather a Gift of Fortune, than the Effect of Counsel. However, having gain'd Success so far exceeding the most sanguine Expectations, he dispatch'd Advices to the Senate and People, extolling the Greatness of his Achievements; and had his Battles and Victories pompously represented in public Pictures; while the Senate decreed him all kinds of Honours^d; and gave him Epithets and Appellations alluding to the different Nations he had conquered.

Affairs in the East thus prosperously carried, *Severus* he hastens towards *Rome*, bringing with him his two Sons, now young Men. And after disposing of the Provinces, as the Circumstances of *Severus returns to Rome.*

^d Among other Honours decreed *Severus*, *Spartian* mentions a Triumph for a Victory gained over the *Jews* in this Expedition: But neither our Author, nor *Dio*, in any part of his History now extant, says one Word about it. *Eusebius*, indeed, speaks of a War raised by the *Jews* and *Samaritans* in the Time of *Severus*; which (if there be any Truth in the Story) must be the War mentioned by *Spartian*.

A.D.200. the respective Nations required, and reviewing the Camps in *Myſia*^c and *Pannonia*, being arrived at *Rome*, he enters the City in Triumph, received by the People with loud Acclamations, Applauſes, and Adorations; which he repaid with Sacrifices, Feaſts, Shews, Aſſemblies, liberal Congiaries, and public Games, inſtituted in Commemoration of his Victories.

Diffen-
ſions of
his Sons.

After this, he ſpent many Years at *Rome* in political Affairs, and the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; during which Time he took no ſmall Pains in the Education and Inſtruction of his Sons. But the Youths were already corrupted with the Luxury and Wantonneſs of the City, and an exceſſive Fondneſs of Farces, Chariot-Races, and Dancing. The two Brothers conceived a kind of Antipathy the one to the other even from their Childhood; which they ſhewed in all their puerile Diverſions, ſuch as Quail-fighting, Cock-matches, and Wreſtling; in all which they zealouſly oppoſed each other. And at Shews and Plays they were ever divided into two Parties, contending rather with Enmity than Emulation: For whatever pleaſed the one, for that very Reaſon diſgusted his Brother. Nor were there wanting Flatterers and Miniſters to nurture and foment their mutual Diſagreement, indulging either in his beloved Exerciſes, and depreciating and calumniating his Antagoniſt.

Antoninus
married.

When the Father was acquainted with this, he firſt endeavoured to reconcile and reduce them to Reaſon. In order to this, he choſe a

^c The ſame with *Maſia*, a large Country on the South ſide of the *Danube*. 'Tis divided into *Upper* and *Lower Myſia*; the former now call'd *Serbia*, the latter *Bulgaria*.

Wife for the eldest (whose true Name, before he came to the Imperial Court, was *Bassianus*; but afterwards his Father named him *Antoninus*, because that was the Surname of *Marcus*) thinking Matrimony might reform his Manners, and teach him Soberness. This young Woman was Daughter to *Plautian*, Prefect of the Camps; a Man, they say, of very mean Birth, and one that had been banished his Country for Sedition and other Offences. He was a *Libyan*, and *Severus's* Countryman; and, as some report, related to him by Blood; but others stick not to affirm, that *Severus* had criminal Conversation with him when a Boy. Be this as it may, 'tis certain *Severus* had raised him to this high Dignity from low and slender Circumstances; and enrich'd him with excessive Wealth, by seizing on the Fortunes of those he put to Death, and bestowing them on *Plautian*; who grew so powerful, that he was little less than his Partner in the Empire. All these Advantages he so abused by Cruelty and Violence in his Actions, that he became more formidable than any of the Emperors.

By marrying this Man's Daughter to his Son, *His ill Behaviour to his Wife.* *Severus* thought to unite the two Families. But *Antoninus* was very averse to the Match; and at last submitted more out of Necessity than Choice; after which he behaved with great Disrespect and Indecency to his Wife and Father-in-law, never vouchsafing so much as to eat with her, but using a separate Table and Bed. In short, he hated the old Man, and abhorr'd the Girl; and would often threaten, that when he came to be sole Emperor, he would kill both her and her Father. This the young Woman

Plautian's
Arro-
gance.

often told to her Father; and complaining how she was hated by her Husband, exasperated *Plautian* to the last degree. He considered *Severus* was old, and continually afflicted with Sicknefs; and knew *Antoninus* to be a fierce daring Youth; and being terrified at his Threats, resolves to be beforehand with him, and prevent the Evil designed against himself and Family. Besides his Fears, he had other powerful Incentives, to make him aspire to the Imperial Dignity. He was immensely rich, beyond what any private Man ever was before; had the Soldiers in his Power; was greatly honour'd by all under the *Roman* Jurisdiction; went abroad in a very magnificent Dress; for he wore a *Laticlavian Tunic*^f, and held Rank with them who

^f There is a great Diversity in the Opinions of Critics about the *Laticlavian Vests*. The common Opinion is, that the *Clavus* never meant more than a Purl or Stud like the Head of a Nail (whence it took its Name) which was larger in the Tunic of the Senators and principal Magistrates, and therefore call'd *Latus clavus*, *Broad Stud*, than in the Tunics of the Knights and Commons; where these Ornaments were called *Angusti clavi*, *Narrow Studs*, in Contradistinction to the *Laticlave*. *Rubenius*, who has written on the Habits of the *Romans*, on the other hand, asserts, that the Tunic had no Studs at all; but that the *Clavus* only signifies a Stripe or Streak of Purple or Gold hanging straight down the Vest, and differing in Colour from the rest of the Garment. *M. Dacier*, in his Note on *Horace*, lib. i. Sat. 5. espouses this last Opinion; and says, the Tunic was faced on both Edges of the Fore-part with a Galoon; that, when the Coat was fasten'd, these two Borders met, and seemed one broad Galoon, call'd by the *Greeks* μεσοπορφύρεον, *Middle-purple*; and as to the *Clavi*, he affirms, they were not Studs like Nail-heads, as the Word implies, but only had that Name given them, because they were put upon the Vests. His Words are; *Les Anciens appelloient Clavum, clou, tout ce qui étoit fait pour être appliqué sur quelque chose. The Ancients call'd every thing Clavum, a Nail, that was made*

had been twice Consuls. He never appear'd without his Sword, and every other Badge and Symbol of singular Authority. When he walk'd in public, he was so formidable, that no one

to be put upon another Thing. To back his Opinion, he cites that famous Passage of *Varro*, De ling. Lat. lib. viii. *Nam si quis tunicam in usu ita consuit, ut altera plagula sit angustis clavis, altera lateis; utraque pars in suo genere caret Analogia.* Which he renders thus; *Car si quelqu' un fait sa Veste de maniere, que l' un des cotez soit garni d' un galon fort large, l' autre d' un galon fort étroit; chaque côté n' a rien qui lui repond.* For if any one makes his Vest in such a manner, that one Side be trim'd with a very broad Galoon, the other with a very narrow; each Side has nothing that answers it. In which Translation he has rather given a Description of a modern laced Waistcoat, than of a Roman Tunic. For this ingenious Commentator forgot, that *Varro* does not say, *altera plagula ANGUSTO CLAVO, altera LATO*; but *altera plagula ANGUSTEIS CLAVEIS, altera LATEIS*; not a Galoon in the Singular; but plurally, *clavis, Studs*. So that 'tis plain enough, from this very Passage, that there were more than one *Clavus* in each Flap of the Tunic; consequently, if the Stripe was only on the Edge of the Fore-part, there must be something more understood by the *Clavus*, than a bare Streak of Purple, or Galoon; otherwise, the Plural *Clavis* would be used by *Varro* very improperly. Nor, indeed, does *Plagula* in *Varro* signify one Side of the Tunic: For that is express'd by the Word *Pars* in the same Passage; and in another of *Suetonius*, in *Augusto*, c. 93. But by *Plagula*, is rather meant a Slip or Stripe of Purple; in which the *Clavi*, or *Studs*, were fixt. In this Sense *Livy* uses the Word, when, speaking of the Furniture of Beds, he says: *Plagulas, & alia textilia: Stripes and other Embroideries.* *Nonius* uses the Terms, *Plagis Sigillatis; studied Stripes.* And the same Author (ex *Pac.*) says; *Plaga, quam nunc dicimus CLAVUM: A Stripe, which we now call a CLAVE*: By which he means the whole purple Streak with its Purls or Studs. For the Word *Plaga* literally means a *Stroke*; and from the Resemblance of the Marks raised in the Skin by Lashes, the Term *Stripe* is metaphorically applied to signify any Line or Streak in a Garment, differing in Colour from the Ground-work.

dared to approach him; and so haughty, that every one who met him turn'd away. It was his Custom to have Serjeants run before him, clearing the Way, and forbidding any so much as to look at him; and ordering all to turn aside and bow their Heads towards the Ground.

Besides what has been said, whoever shall carefully read the several Accounts of the *Roman* Affairs written by *Greek* Authors, or the Glosses of *Greek* Scholiasts on the *Roman* Writers, will find; that the *Signum* or Stripe of these Tunics is always render'd by *σημεῖον*; and as a Garment with many of these Ornaments is call'd *πολυσημεῖον*, so the *Laticlave* is express'd by our Author, *Diodorus Siculus*, and others, by *πλατυσημεῖον*; which might be translated either *Broad-striped*, or *Broad-blinded*, since the *Clave* or Stud, was always proportioned to the Breadth of the Stripe. On the contrary, when the *Greeks* would express the Stud without the Streak, they use the literal Term *ἥλον*, *Nail*, as the learned *Cassaubon* has well observed. *Ovid*, *Trist.* lib. iv. *Eleg.* 10. plainly distinguishes between the Streak and the Stud in these Words; *Cum lato purpura clavo*: *The purple [Stripe] together with the broad Clave*. These *Claves* were generally made of Purple, Scarlet, or Gold; and sewed upon a Line of Purple, broad or narrow, according to the size of the Stud. *Emepifepus* assures us, that *Tacitus* the Emperor, *auroclavatis vestibus interdixit*; *forbad the Use of Gold-studded Vests*. Sometimes the purple Studs were worn without any Streaks at all; which kind of Coats they call'd *Aseme*, *stripless*; as may be gather'd from a Passage of *Lampridius* (in *Alexandro*) compared with another of *Spartian* (in *Severo*). And, on the other hand, when the *Claves* were large, and resembled *Palms* (as on the Garments of Generals in a Triumph) the Coat was call'd *Tunica palmata*. Vid. *Liv.* lib. x. *Fest.* in voce; and *Alex.* ab *Alex.* lib. v. c. 18.

From the whole it appears, that the *Laticlavian* and *Angusticlavian* Tunics were striped with Purple; and on those Stripes were set Rows of *Claves*, or Studs, in proportion to the largeness of the Stripes. Whence the *Clavus* alone is often used by Authors, to signify the whole Assemblage of Streaks and Studs; because the Bigness of the latter was always adjusted to the Breadth of the former.

Severus

Severus, being informed of his arrogant Behaviour, was so highly disgusted at the superlative Pride of the Man, that he somewhat curtail'd his Authority; and often endeavoured by Persuasion to bring him to a little Moderation. But *Plautian* was too haughty to bear Reproof; and therefore resolved to attempt, by secret Treason, to invest himself with the Sovereignty; which he contrived in the following manner.

There was one *Saturninus* a Tribune under His Treason. him, the most servile of all his Creatures; for though great Numbers sneaked and cringed to him, *Saturnine* had so gain'd upon him by his extraordinary Adulations, that *Plautian* judged him most faithful to his Interest, and therefore the only Person capable of concealing and executing his secret Commands. Accordingly, he sends for him one Evening, and having taken him into a private Place alone; “ Now (says he) is
 “ the Time both for you to give the last great
 “ Proof of that Zeal and Affection you have
 “ already shewn me; and for me to repay your
 “ Services, with Rewards suitable to my own
 “ Gratitude, and adequate to your Merit. Look
 “ up to me in this high State, adorned with
 “ Honours, and armed with Power; and then
 “ tell me, whether you chuse to succede to this
 “ Dignity, and be what I am now; or else to
 “ suffer immediate Death, the just Punishment
 “ of incorrigible Obstinacy. Neither be shock'd
 “ at the Greatness of the Attempt, nor shrink
 “ at the Names of Sovereigns and Emperors.
 “ You have in your Power to enter alone the
 “ Chambers where they sleep; forasmuch as it
 “ is your Turn to relieve the Guard To-night;
 “ when

“ when you may, with great Secrecy, accom-
“ plish your Designs unmolested. Farther than
“ this there is no need for me to explain, or
“ you to hear. Go to the Palace in haste; and
“ as if you came with some important Message
“ from me, enter the Apartments and dispatch
“ them both; no very difficult Task for a Man
“ of Spirit, to cut off a feeble old Fellow, and
“ a puny Boy. And as you are to be Partaker
“ of the Dangers, so shall you have the greatest
“ Share in the Honours and Profits of the Re-
“ volution.”

The Tribune was shock'd beyond measure at what he heard; but had Presence of mind enough to conceal his Disorder. He was a Person far from stupid (for he was a *Syrian* by Race; and the Men of the East are generally of a sharp and ready Wit) but seeing the mad peremptory Spirit of the Prefect, and knowing his Power, he offered no Contradiction, for fear of falling a Sacrifice to his Indignation. On the contrary, he pretended to hear him with a great deal of Pleasure; and after bowing low, and paying him Homage as already Emperor, desired a Note of his hand, containing Orders for the Assassination. This is a common Custom with Tyrants, when they send to put any one to Death without a Trial, to give their Orders in writing, that the Person employed may be able to produce his Authority. *Plautian*, blinded by Resentment and Ambition, was weak enough to give the Note, enjoining him to dispatch them both, and, before he divulged what was done, to send somebody to call him; that he might appear in the Palace, before any one knew he had seized the Imperial Dignity.

Matters

Matters thus agreed on, the Tribune took his leave; and went through all the Apartments of the Palace, according to Custom, without any Hindrance. But well knowing how difficult, if not impossible, it was, to kill two Princes lying in different Apartments, he stood at *Severus's* Door; and having called the Keepers of the Imperial Bedchamber, desired they would introduce him to the Emperor; for that he had something to impart to him that nearly concern'd his Safety. They presently inform'd *Severus*; who ordered the Tribune to be admitted.

When he came in; “ I approach you, Royal
 “ Sir (says he) in order (as he that sent me ima-^{*Saturnine*}
 “ gines) to be your Murtherer and Execution-^{betrays}
 “ er; but (as I myself hope and desire) to prove *Plautian*.
 “ your Saviour and Benefactor. *Plautian*, trea-
 “ sonably aspiring to the Imperial Power, has
 “ commanded me to murther you and your
 “ Son. This horrid Task is injoin'd me, not
 “ only in verbal, but written Orders; and this
 “ Note is my Testimonial. I own, I feign'd
 “ Compliance, lest, upon my Refusal, some o-
 “ ther should undertake the Deed; but am come
 “ to detect his audacious Designs, and render
 “ them abortive by this timely Discovery.”

Though this Information was made with Tears, *Severus* at first could not credit it: For as he still retained in his Breast the Sparks of his old Love for his *quondam* Minion, he was inclined to think the whole Plot fictitious and theatrical. And as he knew his Son hated both *Plautian* and his Daughter, he suspected this might be some Trick of the Youth, designed to take off his Father-in-law by a false Accusa-
 tion.

tion. Having therefore called his Son before him, he reprov'd him for contriving a Thing of this kind against a Man so well affected and nearly allied to his Family. *Antoninus*, at first, only swore to his Innocence, and protested he knew nothing of what his Father was saying; but when the Tribune still persisted in his Information, and shew'd the Note; the young Prince encouraged him, and bid him proceed to full Conviction. But the Tribune, seeing in what a dangerous Situation he stood, reflecting on the great Favour *Severus* bore to *Plautian*, and well knowing, that, if he fail'd to make good his Impeachment beyond all possibility of Doubt, Death with the utmost Tortures would inevitably be his Lot, says to *Severus*; “What
 “ further Conviction, my Royal Master, would
 “ you have; or what clearer Discovery? Suffer
 “ me (continues he) to go out of the Room, and
 “ send one of my Friends, whom I can trust, to
 “ acquaint *Plautian*, that the Business is done.
 “ He will believe the Messenger and be presently
 “ here, in order to take Possession of the vacant
 “ Palace: And when he is come, let it be your
 “ Task to find out the Truth. Only order a
 “ profound Silence to be kept in all the Impe-
 “ rial Apartments, lest any Suspicion of what
 “ we are about may overthrow the whole De-
 “ sign.”

Immediately he sends one of his most trusty Friends, to bid *Plautian* make haste to the Palace; for that both the Emperors were dead, and his Presence was necessary, before the People heard what was done; that, when he had seized the Citadel, and taken possession of the Palace, all the People, both the Willing and the Unwilling,

Unwilling, might pay him Homage as their Sovereign, not elect, but confirmed. *Plautian* believed the Message; and elate with vain Hopes of Empire, as it was now the Dusk of the Evening, he puts on his Corset, to guard his Person, and muffling himself up in the rest of his Clothes, mounts his Chariot, and hurries away to Court with only a few Attendants, who thought he might be call'd by the Emperors on some momentous Affair.

When he came to the Palace, the Guards, who knew nothing of what was transacting, gave him ready Admittance; and the Tribune, meeting him at his Entrance, artfully saluted him Emperor; and taking him by the Hand, according to the usual Custom, conducted him into the Imperial Apartment; where he told him he would find the dead Bodies of both the Emperors. But *Severus* had some young Men of his Body-guards posted in the Room, ready to seize him as soon as he came in. *Plautian*, having enter'd the Door, to his great Mortification, saw, what he least expected, both the Emperors standing alive. He was seized by the Guards, and being in the utmost Surprise and Terror, falls presently to Prayers and Deprecations; denying the whole Affair, and saying, it was an Artifice of his Enemies, a theatrical Plot, devised to ruin him. And while *Severus* on one hand upbraided him with all the kind Offices and Honours he had heaped upon him; and he in return reminded the Emperor of his former Faith and Affection to his Person; *Severus*, moved at what *Plautian* alledged, began to relent, and was inclinable again to think him innocent; till, through an opening in his
outside

outside Garment his Corset was discovered underneath; which *Antoninus* spying, as he was a bold passionate Youth, and had a natural Aver-
 sion to the Man; “But (says he) answer me
 “to these two Things. Do you come to Em-
 “perors in the Evening uncall’d? And what
 “means this Corset under your Clothes? Who
 “ever comes in Armour to sup, or spend the
 “Evening, with his Friends?” And as soon
 as he had said this, he orders the Tribune, and
 the rest who were present, to fall upon him
 and put him to Death, as an openly convicted

Plautian’s
 Death,

and Cha-
 racter.

Traitor. The Soldiers, without the least Hesitation, obeyed the Orders of the young Prince. They dispatch’d him immediately; and cast his Carcase into the Street, to be a public Spectacle to all, and an Object of Contempt and Despise to them who hated him. This End suffered
Plautian, a Man whose Life was agitated by insatiate Desires and impetuous Passions; and whose Authority swelled with exorbitant State and ostentatious Equipage.

After his Death, *Severus* divided the Government of the Camps between two Prefects; and spent the greatest part of his remaining Life in his suburban Palaces, and the maritime Places of *Campania*; employing himself in Acts of Judicature and Politics. For he was willing by all means to remove his Sons from a Life of Freedom and Affluence at *Rome*, because he saw them fond of Shews and Diversions beyond what became Princes. Their ardent Zeal and Contests about these Trifles destroyed all brotherly Affection, and were continual Incentives to Discord and mutual Enmity. *Antoninus* especially, since *Plautian* was taken off,
 grew

grew intolerably wicked: And though he was ashamed and afraid to enter into any violent Measures against his Father's Authority, yet he endeavoured, by every kind of Deceit and Artifice, to bring about the Murther of his Wife, *Plautian's* Daughter. But *Severus* sent away her and her Brother into *Sicily*; where he allow'd them a very handsome Competency; imitating in this the Example of *Augustus*, who took the same Method with *Anthony's* Sons, after their Father was deemed a Rebel. Nor did he omit any Mean, that might possibly bring his Sons to Amity and Concord. He continually reminded them of the Fables and dramatic Instructions of the Ancients; where the Subversion of Kingdoms is represented as occasioned by the Quarrels and Diffensions of Royal Brothers. He observed to them; “ That the
 “ Public Treasuries and Temples were all well
 “ filled with Treasure; consequently they would
 “ have no need to hunt after Wealth and Power
 “ from Abroad; but as there were such abundant
 “ Supplies at Home, they could not want
 “ wherewithal to keep the Soldiers in their Interest, by large and frequent Donations. That
 “ the Forces at *Rome* being four times as many
 “ as they used to be, and such a powerful Army
 “ encamped before the City, no foreign
 “ Power could pretend to equal them, either
 “ in the Number and Size of their Soldiers, or
 “ the Quantity of their Riches: And yet they
 “ might render all these Advantages invalid,
 “ by mutual Discord and an intestine War.”

Severus's
 Admonitions to
 his Sons.

These and the like Instructions he was continually inculcating, in order to recover them to Reason and Unity; sometimes intreating, at

other times reproving them : All which was so far from effecting their Reformation, that they rather grew worse and worse. Puff'd up with Pride at their exalted State, they eagerly pursued every irregular Pleasure that Youth could suggest, and Sovereign Power procure, instigated by Sycophants and Flatterers, who not only servilely ministered to their inordinate Desires and obscene Passions, but were ever inventing new Scenes of Pleasure ; while each Party strove to humour the vicious Inclinations of their Patron, and at the same time to disgust and oppose his Brother. Some of these evil Ministers *Severus* detected in their foul Practices, and gave them the just Reward of their Wickedness.

Alarms
from *Britain*.

While his Mind was thus harass'd and perplex'd with the Immoralities of his Sons, and their unbecoming Fondness for Games and Shews ; Advice was brought him from the Governor of *Britain*, “ That the Barbarians of that Island had
“ rebelled, and were running through the Coun-
“ try in a tumultuous manner, plundering and
“ committing all kinds of Havock and Outrage.
“ That the Emperor's Presence was highly
“ needful, or at least the Succour of a strong
“ Reinforcement.” Nothing could be more agreeable to *Severus* than this News : For, besides that he was naturally covetous of Glory, and desired to add the Trophies of Victory gained over the *Britons*, to those he had already raised in the East and North, he was glad to find an Occasion to take his Sons from the Luxe and Softness of a City-Life, and inure them to the Discipline and Labours of War. Therefore, without the least Delay, he gives Orders for
an

an Expedition to *Britain*. For though worn with Age, and afflicted with the Gout, yet his Mind was strong and hardy, even beyond the most robust and vigorous Youth. He made brisk Marches, never resting long in any Place, though he was so infirm, that he was obliged to be carried the greatest part of the Way in a Litter. When he came to the Sea-coast, he embarked with both his Sons; and being landed in *Britain* before the Enemy could expect, or his own People hope his Arrival; by collecting all his Forces from every Quarter, he assembles a mighty Army, and gets every thing in readiness to open the War.

But the *Britons*, frightened at the sudden Presence of the Emperor, and hearing he had gathered a formidable Power against them, sent Ambassies to him to treat of Peace, and make Apologies for what Offences they had committed. *Severus*, willing to protract the Time, that he might not hurry back again too soon to *Rome*, and still desirous of getting a Victory over the *Britons*, that to his other Titles he might add that of *Britannicus*, sent the Ambassadors back with unsatisfactory Answers; and got every thing ready for Battle. His first Care was to throw Bridges across the Morasses, that his Soldiers might be able to pursue the Enemy over the dangerous Places, and have the Opportunity of fighting on firm Ground. For as great part of the Island is frequently overflow'd by the Tides, these constant Inundations make the Country full of Lakes and Marshes. In these the Barbarians swim, or wade through them up to their Middle, regardless of Mud or Dirt, as they always go almost naked: For

The *Britons* send Ambassies to *Severus*.

Descrip-
tion of
Britain
and its In-
habitants.

they are ignorant of the Use of Clothes, and only cover their Necks and Bellies with fine Plates of Iron; which they esteem as an Ornament and Sign of Wealth, and are as proud of it, as other Barbarians are of Gold. They likewise dye their Skins with the Pictures of various kinds of Animals; which is one principal Reason for their wearing no Clothes, because they are loth to hide the fine Paintings on their Bodies. But they are a very warlike and fierce People; and arm only with a narrow Shield and Spear, and a Sword hanging by their naked Bodies; unacquainted with the Use of Habergeons and Helmets, which they think would be an Obstruction to their wading through the Ponds and Marshes of their Country: Which perpetually sending up thick gross Vapours, condense the Air and make it always foggy.

From all these Considerations *Severus* collected every thing he thought might help the *Romans*, and annoy and harrafs the Barbarians. When all was provided, that appeared necessary for beginning the War with the best Advantage, he leaves his youngest Son, named *Geta*, in that part of the Island which was under the *Roman* Jurisdiction, to administer Justice, and manage all other political Affairs (with the Help of some of his Father's old experienced Friends, appointed to assist the Youth with their Counsels) and taking *Antoninus* with him, advances against the Barbarians. Having past the Ditches and Parapets[§], which

§ The Parapets here mentioned were Walls, or Banks, of Mud and Turf, thrown up as Retrenchments against the Incursions of the *North Britons*. *Spartian* tells us, *Adrian* was the first that threw up a Wall of eighty Miles length, to divide the *Romans* from the barbarous *Britons*.

covered the *Roman* Territories, several short Fights and Skirmishes ensued; in which the Barbarians were always worsted, but being well acquainted with the Nature of the Places, they easily escaped, and hid themselves in the Fens and Thickets; which was a great Disadvantage to the *Romans*, and served to protract a dull tedious War.

Severus, being now old and infirm, was seized with a lingering Illness, that rendered him quite incapable of going abroad, and obliged him to commit the whole Government of the Army to his Son. But *Antoninus* took but very little Concern about what became of the Barbarians: All his Study was to gain the Soldiers to his Interest, and make the whole Army fix their Eyes on him as their Monarch; perpetually calumniating his Brother, and making use of every Mean to get the whole Power into his own Hands. He was chagrined at the Slowness of

And *Julius Capitolinus*, in his Life of *Antoninus Pius*, mentions another *murum cespititium*, Turf-wall, built in *Britain* after a Battle, in which (according to *Pausanias*) *Pius* made a great Slaughter among the *Brigantes*; i. e. the Inhabitants of *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, Bishoprick of *Durham*, *Westmorland*, and *Cumberland*. The same *Spartian* calls the Wall built by *Severus*, *murum*, aut *vallum*, a Wall, or a Rampire. *Eutropius* expressly calls it a Rampire; and says, it was built from Sea to Sea; the Length of which he makes but thirty-two Miles: So little Certainty is there in the Numbers mentioned in the Works of the Ancients, at least as they are now extant. From all which Accounts the learned *Casaubon* rightly asserts; that *Severus's* Wall was no other than a Fence made of Turf, and strengthen'd with Pallisadoes, like those of the two Emperors before mentioned, and not built of solid Stone, as some have imagined. The famous PICTS WALL, the Ruins of which are still to be seen, was the Work of much more modern Times.

Severus
dies.

A.D. 213.

his Father's Distemper, and thought the old Man troublesome because he lived so long : And therefore, to rid himself of this Burthen, he tampered with his Father's Physicians and Servants, endeavouring to persuade them to administer some effectual Dose that might dispatch him out of the way. At last *Severus*, wasted chiefly with Trouble and Vexation, gave up the Ghost^h; after having acquired more Glory in War, than any of the Emperors before him; none of whom could boast of so many Victories won, both in Civil Wars against his Rivals, and in foreign Expeditions against the Barbarians. He reigned eighteen Years; and was succeeded by his Sons; to whom he left more Treasure than any Father ever bequeath'd beforeⁱ; and a military Power so formidable, that nothing could resist it.

^h He died at *York*, the 4th of *February*, A. D. 213. His Death (if we may credit *Dio*) was forwarded by his Son *Antoninus*; who had attempted it several times; and at last found means to effect his Designs.

ⁱ It may not be improper to mention here, for the Reader's Curiosity, what *Ælius Spartian* reports of the Quantity of Corn left by *Severus* in the public Store-houses. His Words are; *Moriens septem annorum canonem, ita ut quotidiana 75,000 modiorum expendi possent: He left at his Death a Proportion for seven Years, allowing the Consumption of each Day to be 75,000 Modii.* The Roman *Modius* contain'd above three Gallons of our dry Measure. According to this Proportion, *Casaubon* makes the Number of Souls maintained at *Rome* out of the public Granaries amount to 600,000. In this Computation he follows *Budæus*, who is of opinion, that the Allowance of Corn to a single Person for one Day was a *Chænix*, the eighth part of a *Modius*, in our Measure about three Pints.

But, with all due Deference to the Judgment of both these learned Men, I cannot think the Allowance of a single Person to be so little as a *Chænix*, neither in the
Reign

Antoninus, having gotten the Power into his Hands, began at Home (as the Proverb says) ^{*Antoninus*} to execute Cruelty and Murthers. He put to ^{begins his} Death the Physicians, who had refused to take ^{Reign} Murthers. ^{with}

Reign of *Diocletian*, when *Spartian* wrote his Histories; nor in the time of *Severus*, in whose Life the above Proportion, or (as he calls it) *Canon*, is mentioned. Every one, who is but moderately acquainted with the History of *Rome* under the Emperors, knows, the Allowance of Corn, especially to the Soldiers, was frequently altered, and augmented, according to the Views or Fancies of the several Princes. And though a *Chænix* may be sufficient for the Maintenance of one Man a Day; yet to gain or confirm the Good-will of the Army, the Emperors often gave them more than a Competency, and permitted them to turn the Overplus into Money.

Anciently the Quantum of Corn for the *Roman* Army was more than a *Chænix* a day. *Polybius* says; Σιτομετρῆναι δὲ οἱ μὲν περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν μεδίμνων δύο μέρη μάλιστα πως, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς κριθῶν μὲν ἑπτὰ μεδίμνους εἰς τὸν μῆνα, πυρῶν δὲ δύο. *The Measure of Wheat to the Foot is generally two parts of an Attic Medimnus; to the Horse seven Medimni of Barley for a Month, and two of Wheat.* The *Attic Medimnus* is above six *Modii*. So that if we take the Phrase *Two parts*, for Two thirds (as the *Greeks* use ἐν μέρει for *Half*, δύο μέρη, for two parts in three, &c. and the *Latins* often express the same way) this Computation in *Polybius's* Time gives a Foot-Soldier thirty-two *Chænicas* of Wheat a Month, and to each of the Cavalry ninety-six *Chænicas* of Wheat, and 336 of Barley (almost sixteen Bushels of our Measure.) If then upon an Average we allow three *Sextiers*, or a *Chænix* and half (about two Quarts and half a Pint *English*) to each Person, the Conjecture will, I think, have a little more Probability. According to this Calculation, there will be 400,000 Persons at *Rome* maintained by the public Corn. These were only the poor Plebeians, some Companies of Children allotted by the Emperors and call'd after their Names, and the Soldiery. So that if we make this but an eighth part of the Number of Citizens (which will be a moderate Proportion, considering all the Nobility, Knights, Gentry, Tradesmen, Women, Children, and Slaves) the Inhabitants of *Rome* will amount to 3,200,000. A surprizing Number! and such as we shall hardly read of in any City in the World besides.

his Father out of the way, as he ordered; together with all his own and *Geta's* Tutors; because they attempted, by Persuasion and Intreaty, to reconcile him to his Brother: Nor did he suffer one Man of Honour or Authority among all his Father's Servants to long survive their old Master. He, by great Bribes, and greater Promises, tempted the principal Officers to persuade the Army to declare him sole Emperor; and by all kinds of Artifices plotted his Brother's Ruin. But the Soldiers would not comply. For remembering that *Severus* had educated both with equal Care, they resolved to pay the same Respect and Obedience to both.

As to the Largeness of *Rome*; about sixty Years after *Severus*, the Emperor *Aurclian* enlarged the Walls, till their Circumference took up the Space of fifty Miles. This is the greatest Extent of the City we find in History. But *Vopiscus*, the Author of this Account, assures us, *Aurclian*, tho' he enlarged the Walls, made no Addition to the *Pomærium*: By which is understood a Space of consecrated Ground all round the City, both within and without the Walls. This Space, says *Livy*, lib. i. the *Romans* call *Pomærium*, both because it is *behind the Wall, and the Wall behind it*. For at the building of the City, they described the Extent of it by a Plough drawn by a Bull and a Cow round it's Compass; taking care to turn all the Clods inwards. On this circular Line the Walls were built, in the middle of the consecrated Space or *Pomærium*. So that half of it was without the Walls, the other half within them. The whole being pronounced Holy-ground by the Soothsayers, it was unlawful either to plough or till the external Part, or build upon the internal. However, the *Romans* did not tie themselves by the latter part of the Prohibition, but extended their Buildings quite to the Walls, as we are inform'd by *Livy* in the Place above mention'd. To extend the *Pomærium*, was look'd on as a Matter of that Importance, that the Honour was allowed no General or Emperor, except those who had added to the *Roman* Territories some quantity of Land taken from the Enemy in a fair and open War.

When

When therefore *Antoninus* found he could not obtain his Ends from the Army, he treats with the Barbarians, and grants them a Peace; and having received Hostages of their Faith, he leaves their Territories, and marches back again in haste to his Brother and Mother. She, with the Assistance of the chief Officers and Counsellors, her Husband's Friends, endeavour'd all that lay in her Power, to bring them to Agreement: And *Antoninus* at length, when all opposed his Designs, was prevail'd upon to make a shew of Reconciliation, more out of Necessity than Choice; for his Malice still remained in his Breast, somewhat smother'd, indeed, but not extinguish'd.

Thus the two Brothers, Co-partners in the Imperial Dignity, agreed to embark their Troops and hasten to *Rome*; carrying with them their Father's Reliques (for the Coarse was burnt, and the Ashes enclosed in an Alabaster Urn, with all kinds of Spices and sweet Odours) in order to interr them among the sacred Tombs of the Emperors. They set sail with the Army in a triumphant manner, for their Victories over the *Britons*; and having crossed the Sea, landed on the opposite Coast of *Gaul*.

This Third Book ends with the Account of *Severus's* Death, and the Joint-Succession of his two Sons to the Empire.

HERODIAN.

BOOK IV.

A.D. 213.
The two
Emperors
return to
Rome with
their Fa-
ther's Re-
liquies.

THE memorable Actions of *Severus*, during the whole eighteen Years of his Reign, have been related in the precedent Book.

His Sons, both as yet very young, together with their Mother, proceeded to *Rome* with great Alacrity, but not without frequent Quarrels by the Way. They neither lay in the same Inn, nor used the same Table; and had the strictest Caution in Eating and Drinking, each fearing his Brother might have secretly mixt some noxious Ingredient in the Food, or have corrupted some of his Servants to poison their Master. These Suspicions made them pursue their Journey with greater Expedition, hoping their Security might be better confirmed when they were at *Rome*; because, having divided the Sovereignty, they imagined, that in a spacious Palace, greater than any City, and containing so many separate Apartments, they should have the liberty of living each according to his particular Fancy.

The Or-
der of the
Procession.

When they arrived at *Rome*, the People, with Laurels in their Hands, gave them a joyful Reception; and the Senate addressed them

in the usual Manner. The two Princes went first, cloath'd in the Imperial Purple; next to them came the Consuls, bearing the Urn in which were the Reliques of *Severus*. The Senators and Magistrates, after saluting the new Emperors, paid Adoration to the Urn. Then all in their respective Ranks joined the Procession; and followed the Urn, with great Pomp, to the Temple^a; where it was deposited amongst the sacred Monuments of *Marcus* and the former Emperors.

The Divine Service, as by Law established, being perform'd at the Entrance of the Court, the two Emperors retired to the Palace; which they divided between them, and took care to shut up all the private Avenues and Passages, and permitted none to come in or out but by the public Gates and Entrances of the Court. Each Prince had his peculiar Guards: Nor did the Brothers ever meet, except when they had a mind to appear together in public, and this but very seldom.

The first thing they did was to perform the Funeral Obsequies to their departed Father. 'Tis a Custom among the *Romans*, to consecrate those of their Emperors who die and leave either Sons or design'd Successors, and call this religious Office their *Apotheosis*. At this Solemnity there is a promiscuous shew of Mourn-

Apotheosis of the Emperors.

^a It stood in the *Via Appia*, or *Appian Road*, a famous Causeway, so called from *Appius*, the Censor, it's Author. It reached to above 300 Miles from the City to the South-East, and was twelve Feet wide, all paved with large Stones, mostly blue, and about sixteen Inches square. Great part of this curious and grand piece of Workmanship is still to be seen.

ing, Feasting, and Worshipping, throughout the whole City. The Corpse is buried ^b as that of another Man, only in a very costly pompous

^b *Alexander ab Alexandro* asserts, lib. iii. c. 2. that the Custom of burning the Dead among the *Romans*, was discontinued in the Reigns of the *Antonines*. For this he is charged with Inaccuracy by *Mercere*, and other Commentators; who pretend, that the more humane Custom of interring the Deceased, was not resumed till the Times of the *Christian* Emperors. But I am of opinion, that upon a strict and impartial Examination, *Alexander's* Assertion will appear better grounded than the Objections raised against him. In the early Ages of both *Greece* and *Rome*, Interrment was generally the method of Burial: But in Process of time, Burning was introduced and practised by both these great States, but not so universally as to exclude Interrment. Every one knows, that in the Times of the Commonwealth the *Romans* used to interr or burn their Dead, as either seemed most agreeable to the surviving Friends. The Laws of the XII Tables, cited by *Cicero*, De Legibus, lib. ii. contain certain Injunctions relating to both Customs. And the same excellent Author assures us, the Family of the *Cornelii* always interr'd their Dead till the time of *Sylla* the Dictator; who having maliciously ordered the Body of his Adversary *Marius* to be torn out of the Grave; and fearing his own might, after his Decease, suffer the same Fate, gave Orders, a little before he died, for the burning his Coarse. After which, Burning became the most frequent Method, at least among Persons of Rank or Distinction: So that *Funus*, *Funeratus est*, &c. when spoken of Great Men, generally signify Funerals by Fire.

That the Bodies of all of the twelve first Emperors, who had any Burial at all, were burnt, is plain from *Suetonius*. Nor is there any Reason to suspect the Custom was altered till the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, the sixteenth Emperor, who buried *Adrian* secretly at *Putcoli*. This we are told by *Spartian*, in his Life of *Adrian*; and *Dio*, as extracted by *Xiphilin*, mentions his Interrment, without one Word of his being burnt. The Cause of *Adrian's* secret Burial was, that he was grown so odious, by his tyrannic Behaviour a little before his Death, that it was not without great Difficulty *Pius* obtained from the Senate Permission to canonize him. And 'tis highly probable, that *Pius*, on that very Account,

restored

Manner; but an Image, curiously made of Wax, representing with great Exactness the Size and Form of the Defunct, is laid on a magnificent

restored the Custom of Interrment, to wipe off the Disgrace of *Adrian's* clandestine Burial, whose Memory he honoured even to Adoration.

Though we have no Account, either in *Dio's* Fragments, or in *Capitolinus*, of the Burial of *Antoninus Pius* himself; yet 'tis most reasonable to suppose, he was interred, not only from the Motive just mentioned, but because, we are inform'd, he made and enforced several good Laws about Burials: One of which was, that none should be buried in the City. For anciently the *Romans* used to bury their Dead, not only in the City, but even in their own Gardens and Houses, as *Servius* affirms on *Æneid. v. v. 64*. And though the Laws of the XII Tables prohibited the Custom; yet Indulgence was given to Persons of several Qualities and Merits, such as the *Vestal* Virgins, Generals who had often triumph'd, and some others for extraordinary Services done the State; among whom was the Emperor *Trajan*, as we have related in the Introduction. Besides, as *Pius* was such a zealous Imitator of *Numa's* religious Rites, 'tis probable he took care to be buried in the same manner as that good King; whose Stone Coffin, with a Leaden Cover, was dug up almost 500 Years after his Death; as we find in *Livy*, lib. xl. Be that as it may, 'tis plain from this very Passage of our Author, that in his time Interrment was the common Custom. For the original Words *Σῶμα καὶ αὐτὰπύρσιν* cannot fairly be rendered otherwise than, *They interr the Body*.

What our Author relates a little further on in this same Book, of the Cruelty of *Antoninus*, seems rather to confirm than invalidate what we are proving. For, among other Marks of Indignity, he informs us, that *Antoninus* had the dead Bodies of those he had put to death thrown into Carts, carried out of the City, and burnt. And though we read of several Emperors after *Severus*, whose Coarces were burnt; yet this was only when they died abroad, and could not be kept long enough to bring to *Rome*: Their Successors therefore thought it better to burn them, and collect their Ashes, than to trust their dead Bodies in a foreign Country, where probably the Enemy might dig them up again. Add to all this, that *Spartian* expressly

Bed of State, made of Ivory, and all the Covering richly embroidered with Gold. This Bed is raised and exposed to view in one of the Galleries of the Court. The Image has a pale languid Countenance like a Person in Illness; and is attended the greatest part of the Day by the most illustrious Personages: For on the left side of the Bed the Members of the Senate sit, in black mourning Robes; and on the right, the Women of Quality, whose Husbands or Fathers are the principal Officers of State. Not

expressly tells us, in *Juliano*, that *Severus* himself gave the Body of *Julian* to his Wife, in order to be interr'd; which was done accordingly in the Monument of his Ancestors. From the whole, I think, we may reasonably enough conclude, that the Disuse of the barbarous Custom of Burning, began in the Reigns of the *Antonines*, as *Alexander* affirms.

'Twere frivolous to tire the Reader with a long Detail of all the little Ceremonies practised by the *Romans* at Funerals; which, like other Fashions, varied in every Age, according to the Judgment or Caprice of the Parties concerned. But one laudable Custom deserves to be repeated. The Ancients were so scrupulously cautious of burying any Person before quite dead, that they kept their Deceas'd ordinarily seven Days. During this term, the Body was frequently washed with warm Water, and anointed by Persons called *Pollinctores*, in order, if possible, to restore the Circulation of the Blood; which they thought might perhaps be obstructed by some latent Cause. In the Intervals of washing, the Friends cried aloud over the Dead by Name: nor did they give him over till the last Cry on the seventh Day: Whence *Conclamatum est* pass'd for a Proverb, in Matters which were finished beyond all Possibility of being recalled. The eighth Day, the Funeral, after being publicly proclaimed, was performed with all its accustomed Rites. And if the Deceased was a Person of Distinction, his Memory was honour'd with Funeral Games; which consisted of Tilting, Racing, Shooting, mortal Fighting between Gladiators, Boxing, hurling the Coit, and almost every Trial of Manhood or Dexterity.

one of these Ladies has any Ornament of Gold or Jewels; but all are plain drest in White, and in every Circumstance resemble Mourners. For seven Days the Image thus lies in State, during which the Physicians pay their constant Visits, approach the Bed, inspect the fictitious Patient, and every time declare he grows worse, and there appears no hope of Recovery.

At last he is said to be dead; and the Chief of the Equestrian Order, together with some young Senators, take up the Bed, and bear it through the *Holy-Street* into the *Old Forum*, where the principal Magistrates of the *Romans* divest themselves of their Offices. On each side are Stairs, raised in the form of Ladders; where stand on one hand a Choir of Boys, pick'd out of the Sons of the best Families; and on the other, young Ladies of the like Quality and Distinction: These sing Funeral Dirges and Hymns in honour of the Deceased; the Words and Tunes adapted to the Mournfulness of the Occasion.

This done, the Bed is again taken up and carried out of the City, into what they call the *Campus Martius*^c; where is raised, in the broadest part of the Plain, a large quadrangular

^c It was once the Estate of the *Tarquins*, lying between the City and the *Tiber*. In the second Year after the Expulsion of the Kings, the Senate seized on all the Effects of the Royal Family, and gave them to the People. The Corn on the Estate, being then ripe, was cut down, and the Land dedicated to *Mars*, under the Title of *Campus Martius*, *Mars's Plain*. Here were celebrated the first Secular Games; and the Place was afterwards famous for holding Elections, convening the Citizens on any Emergency, practising all the Feats of Arms, exhibiting Sports, Races, and other public Diversions. It was look'd on as
a last-

Building, exactly square, composed of no other Materials than Wood, representing a sort of Pavillion; the inside of which is filled with dry combustible Matter, but the outside beautifully decorated with rich Hangings wrought with Gold, Statues of Ivory, and all kinds of curious Painting. Upon this is another Story, built in the same Form, and equally embellished, but smaller than the first, with open Doors and Windows. Then a third, and a fourth; still lessening as they rise, till the Top appears sharp and pointed, like those pyramidical Structures which are erected at the Entrances of certain Ports, to light Ships safe into their Harbours by Night, and are commonly called *Phari*, or *Light-houses*. The Bed is carried up, and placed in the second Story of the Edifice, amidst great Quantities of rich Spices and Odours of every kind the Earth affords; to which they add the most delicious Fruits, fragrant Herbs, and sweet Juices, brought from all parts of the World: For there is neither Nation nor City, nor Person of Distinction or Honour, who is not proud of bestowing some costly Presents of this sort, as his last Devoirs of Honour to the Prince. When these spicy and odoriferous Oblations are amassed to an immense Heap, so that the whole Place is fill'd with them, a kind of Cavalcade is then performed by all the *Roman* Knights; who ride round the Edifice with great Regularity, keeping an exact Time, doubling and

a lasting Monument of their Liberty obtained by Arms against the Regal Power; and as such was nobly adorned with Statues, Porticos, Arches, and other curious and magnificent Decorations.

redoubling

redoubling in a sort of Course they call the *Pyrrhichian Rhythmus*^d. Chariots likewise encircle the Structure, keeping the same regular Time and Measure; their Conductors being cloathed in purple Robes, personating the most illustrious Generals or Emperors of the *Romans*, adorn'd with all the Badges and Ensigns of their respective Dignities.

After the Courses are ended, the Successor to the Imperial Throne takes a lighted Torch, and bears it to the Edifice; and then the rest set fire to the dry combustible Matter on every side; which, presently kindling, communicates the Fire to the Spices and Perfumes, and the whole Fabric is soon in a Flame. Out of the last and narrowest Story, as from the Summit of a lofty Tower, an Eagle is let fly; which ascending with the Flame and Smoke into the Air, is believed by the *Romans* to soar into Heaven, bearing the Soul of the departed Prince; who from this time hath religious Worship paid him in common with other Deities^e.

^d The *Pyrrhichian Rhythm* or Measure, was a kind of Horse-Exercise perform'd in musical Number, invented, as some say, by *Pyrrichus* of *Crete*. *Aristotle* is of opinion, that *Achilles* was the Inventor, and his Son *Pyrrhus* performed it in honour of his Father at his Funeral Obssequies. The Pace in these Courses was exceeding quick, in Imitation of the *Pyrrhichian* Foot in *Greek* and *Latin* Poetry, which consists of two Syllables both short, peculiarly adapted to a swift Measure. *Virgil*, *Æn.* v. gives a beautiful Description of this *Pyrrhichian Rhythm*, call'd by the *Latins*; *The Trojan Game*; where he introduces *Ascanius* and the *Trojan* young Gentlemen performing this Course, at the Funeral Games of *Anchises* in *Sicily*, with great Justness and Dexterity. It seems to have taken it's Rise from the Funeral Games instituted by *Achilles* in honour of his Friend *Patroclus*, as they are described by *Homer*, *Iliad* xxiii.

^e Few of the *Roman* Emperors missed the Honour of
O
Dei-

A.D. 213.
The Quar-
rels of the
two Bro-
thers.

The Divine Honours being performed to their Father, the young Princes returned to the Imperial Palace; where they continually quarrelled, hated, and plotted Mischief one against the other. Each of them spent his whole Time

Deification. For though ever so deservedly hated in their Life-time, they generally found some Friend or other to canonize them for Saints after their Death. Even *Commodus* was deified by *Severus*; and *Pertinax*, tho' murder'd by the Soldiery, had the same Honour paid him by the Senate. And very often the Sons and Daughters, and other both male and female Relations of the Emperors, were honoured with this holy Ceremony. Each of these consecrated Saints had a Church dedicated to him, a *Flamen*, or *Head-Priest*, *Sacerdotes* (afterwards call'd *Salii*) *Officiating Priests* or *Chaplains*, and *Sodales*, *Fellows of the College*. The *Flamen* was generally the Son of the Deceased, if any Son survived. Thus *Pertinax's* Son was *Flamen* to his Father. This Custom of giving Divine Honours to Princes was very old, and practised by almost all Nations of whom we have any Account. *Romulus*, the first King of *Rome*, was so religiously worshipped, that his Successor *Numa* created for him a *Flamen*; tho' we read but of three *Flamens* ordained by him; one to *Jupiter*, call'd *Flamen Dialis*; a second to *Mars*, term'd *Flamen Martialis*; and the third to *Romulus*, under the Title of *Flamen Quirinalis*. But what is more remarkable, the Women sometimes performed this sacred Function. *Velleius Paterculus*, *Tacitus*, and *Dio*, all three mention *Livia* as Priestess to *Augustus*, and call'd his Daughter, tho' she had been his Wife. This same *Livia* was afterwards canonized herself by *Claudius*; and *Vossius* tells us of a Medal he saw of that Emperor, on the Reverse of which was this Inscription: S. P. Q. R. DIVAE. IULIAE. AUGUSTI. FILIAE. THE. SENATE. AND. PEOPLE. OF. ROME. TO. SAINT. IULIA. DAUGHTER. OF. AUGUSTUS.

The Images of those departed Saints were kept in the Houses of the Citizens; and those who could afford it, were reckon'd irreligious Persons, if they were without them. *Julius Capitolinus* says, the Images of *Marcus* were seen in several Houses among the Household-Gods, in his time, which was about 100 Years after *Marcus's* Death.

and

and Study, in contriving Means to dispatch his Brother, and make himself the Monarch of the Empire. This gave rise to Factions and Feuds amongst all who were invested with any Honour or Authority throughout the whole City; while each of the Princes, by secret Letters, Bribes, and Promises, endeavoured to bring over Profelytes to his Party. However, the greatest Part favour'd *Geta*; because he shew'd some marks of Moderation in his Temper; was civil, and easy of Access; employed himself in serious Studies; conversed with Men of Learning; was frequently in the *Palæstra*^f; and zealously fond of the best Gymnastic Exercises: So that the Fame of his ingenuous and amiable Carriage to those about him gained him the Love of the greatest part of the People. On the contrary, *Antoninus* was imperious, stern, and turbulent; and rejecting those Exercises above mentioned, pretended to be a Lover of Military Discipline, and the Life of a Warriour; acting always with Rage and Rigour; seldom persuading, frequently threatening; sower of making Friends by Fear, than winning them by Gentleness and Affability. Their Mother did every thing in her power to bring her Sons to better Harmony; but they still betrayed an irreconcilable Enmity in all their Actions, and quarrelled about the most trifling and minute Circumstances. At last they thought proper to divide the Empire, that either might be safe from any Treachery of his Brother; which both were afraid of, while they remained at *Rome*.

^f That part of the *Gymnasium* appropriated to corporal Exercises, such as Wrestling, Boxing, Running, Leaping, throwing the Coit, &c.

Accordingly, they called together their Father's Friends; and their Mother being present, they desired the Empire might be parted according to the following Articles.

Articles
of Sepa-
ration.

I. Antoninus *to be sole Master of all Europe; and Geta to rule the whole opposite Continent, called Asia.* (For they said these Continents seemed to be so divided on purpose by some divine Providence, by the Straits of the *Propontis*.)

II. *That Antoninus have a Camp at Byzantium; and Geta at Calchedon in Bithynia; that the Army on either Side the Propontis may guard the Frontiers of their respective Realms, and hinder any Invasions from the opposite Party.*

III. *That the Senate be likewise divided; those under the Dominion of the European Sovereign to remain in Rome, the rest to follow Geta into Asia.*

IV. *That Geta may keep his Court either at Antioch or Alexandria; both which are very large Cities, and thought but little inferior to Rome.*

V. *That, of the Southern Nations, the Moors, Numidians, and the adjoining part of Libya, be ceded to Antoninus; the rest of the Countries, quite to the East, shall remain under the Government of Geta.*

While the two Princes were drawing and debating these Articles, all about them seemed much dejected, and hung down their Heads in silence: But *Julia* their Mother thus vented her Grief. “ You find means, my Sons, to divide
“ the Earth and Sea betwixt you; and the in-
“ terfluent Stream, you say, severs the two
“ Continents: But how will you be able to di-
“ vide

“vide your Mother? How am I, your un-
 “happy Parent, to be torn afunder, and shared
 “between you both? There is but one Way.
 “First sheath your Swords in my Breast, and
 “then let my dead Body be cut into two, that
 “each Prince may bury half his Mother in his
 “own Territory. So shall I be equally parted
 “between you, together with your Empire of
 “the Earth and Sea.”

These Words were uttered with Tears and strong Cries. She took them both by the hand, embraced them in her Arms, and with all the Tendernefs of a Mother’s Love, begg’d them to lay aside all Thoughts of Sejuncti^{on}. This Scene was fo affecting, that all present were moved with Pity. The Affembly was difmifs’d, and the Scheme difapproved; and the Youths retired to their feperate Apartments.

The Arti-
cles are
null’d.

But their Hatred and Difcord ftill increafed: For whenever a Poft of Honour or Power fell vacant, each endeavoured to prefer his own Friends; or if they fat upon any Caufe of Judicature, their Sentiments were always contrarious, fometimes to the Ruin of the Parties concerned: For their Love of Oppofition was more prevalent than their Regard to Juftice. The fame Spirit appeared in all their public Diverfions. Nor was there any kind of Treachery left unattempted; but each endeavour’d to perfuade his Brother’s Cooks and Cup-bearers to mix fome deadly Drug in his Food; which was difficult to effect, becaufe both received every thing they ate or drank with the ftrict^{eft} Caution.

A.D. 214.

At laft *Antoninus*, tired with frequent Dif-
 appointments, and fired more and more with
 O 3

Antoninus
murthers
his Bro-
ther,

desire of the sole universal Monarchy, resolved to put the finishing Stroke to his black Design with the Sword, or else to perish in the Attempt. For since secret Means had so oft proved ineffectual, he thought it necessary to proceed to dangerous and desperate Measures. [*Accordingly he enters the Chamber, where his Mother and her Son were met by his Appointment; when some Officers, previously posted there for that Purpose, rushed out with their Weapons upon Geta: to the unutterable Horror of the Boy and his Mother* ^s] hers occasioned by her maternal Love, his by the Sight of instant Death. *Geta*, being mortally wounded, pours out his Blood in his Mother's Bosom, and expires.

He flies
to the
Camp.

This unnatural Murther being perpetrated, *Antoninus* springs out of the Room, and running through all the Palace cries aloud, that a base Attempt had been made against his Life; that it was with much Difficulty he had escaped the Treason; and orders the Pretorians on guard at Court, to come to his Rescue, and carry him directly to the Camp, that the Army there might guard his Person; for that it was impossible he could be any longer safe in the Palace. The Guards, believing what he said, and ignorant of what had been committed within, seeing him flee with such Speed, immediately fled with him; while the People were in the utmost Consternation, to see the Emperor running thro'

^s All within the Crotchets I have supplied from *Dio*, to make the Sense entire; for there is a Gap in all the Copies of *Herodian*, which evidently wanted filling up with something of that kind. *Politian* has omitted it in his Translation; and *Stepens* and *Sellburg* both own a Deficiency, but have left it unsupplied.

the Streets in the dusk of the Evening. When he came to the Camp, he goes into the Chapel, where the Ensigns and Images of the Army are worshipped, falls prostrate on the Ground, and with religious Adoration returns his Thanks for his Deliverance. But when the Report came among the Soldiers, some of whom were bathing, others laid down to rest; they all started up, and ran to the Chapel: Where *Antoninus* came forth to them; and, concealing what he had done, exclaims aloud, “ That he had just “ escaped from imminent Danger, offered him “ by an Enemy and a Traitor (meaning his “ Brother) That by a vigorous Defence, he had “ got the better of his Adversaries, and after “ both Parties had engaged with the utmost “ Hazard of Life, he had the good Fortune to “ remain sole surviving Emperor.” By these oblique Hints, he endeavour’d to make his Murther rather understood than confessed; and promised, if they would protect his Safety, and confirm him in the Monarchy, he would give every Soldier 2500 *Attic Drachms*^h; and that their present Allowance of Corn should be augmented to half as much more. Moreover, he bids them go and take the Moneys which were deposited in the Temples and Treasuries: And thus in one Day he squanders away, in profuse Largeesses, all the Riches *Severus* had raked together from the Ruin of other People in the whole Space of eighteen Years. The Soldiers, tempted by the Offer of so much Money, and understanding what had been done (for the Murther was now bawld about, by

^h About 78*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

those who had fled thither from Court) saluted him sole Emperor; and declared *Geta* an Enemy.

But *Antoninus* thought proper to stay that Night in the Chapel of the Camp, to attach the Army firmly to his Interest, and make them his own, by the Distribution of such large Sums of Money; and the next Day went to the Senate-house, attended by all the Pretorians armed in a stronger manner than was usual when they only attended the Emperor in State. Being enter'd, after Divine Service was performed, he ascends the Imperial Throne, and delivers himself to the Senate in this manner.

His
Speech
to the
Senate.

“ I am not ignorant, that every domestic
 “ Murther is no sooner heard than detested;
 “ and that the very Name of Parricide, the
 “ Moment it strikes the Ear, raises immediate
 “ Indignation and Calumny. The Unfortunate
 “ are always Objects of Compassion; the Power-
 “ ful of Envy. In these Cases, the vanquish'd
 “ Party is thought to be injured; and he that
 “ gains the Victory, is ever accused of having
 “ done the Wrong. But if any one will reason
 “ the Case with Equity, and not form his Judg-
 “ ment from a partial Affection to the Person
 “ that fell, but maturely weigh and examine
 “ the Counsels and Motives of both Parties;
 “ he will find, that it is sometimes not only
 “ reasonable but necessary, for a Man to retort
 “ the Evil design'd himself: Because to fall by
 “ Injustice, carries with it a strong Suspicion
 “ of Cowardice; but to repel Violence with
 “ Success, has, besides the Pleasure of having
 “ defended your Safety, the additional Glory
 “ of a bold and manly Spirit. What frequent
 “ Snares

“ Snares have been laid for my Life, by Poison
 “ and every other kind of covert Treason, is in
 “ your Power to search out by Tortures : For
 “ I have ordered his Ministers and Servants to
 “ be present, that the Truth of this might,
 “ when you will, be discovered. Some of them
 “ have been already examined ; and you may
 “ presently hear their Confessions. In the mean
 “ time let me inform you of his last wicked
 “ Attempt. He came upon me in the presence
 “ of my Mother, attended with certain Per-
 “ sons furnished with Weapons for the intend-
 “ ed Murther ; but having previous Suspicion
 “ of his Villainy, I boldly defeated his Attempt ;
 “ and used him as an avow’d Enemy, whom
 “ I found to entertain neither the Affection nor
 “ Nature of a Brother. To punish such Trai-
 “ tors, as it is undeniably just, so it may be
 “ vindicated by numberless Examplesⁱ. *Romu-*

ⁱ *Remus* is generally reported to have been killed by his Brother *Romulus*, for contemptuously jumping over the low Walls of his little City.

That *Nero* poison’d his Brother, is too well known to need any Comment. But why our Author calls him *Germanicus*, I cannot perceive ; since *Britannicus* is the Name given by other Historians to *Nero*’s Brother.

Though it is not clear, from History, that *Titus* was poison’d by his Brother *Domitian*, yet the Suspicion was prevalent enough to serve as an Example for *Antoninus*. For *Suetonius*, in *Domit.* c. 2. relates, that *Domitian* plotted *Titus*’s Death, by all Means both public and private ; and when he was dying, order’d all to desert him as a dead Man ; and often rail’d at him after his Death, both in his Orations and Edicts,

The like Suspicion obtained with regard to *Marcus*. What gave ground to it, was the great Dissimilitude of Manners between the two Brothers by Adoption ; and, above all, the sudden End of *Lucius* ; who was seized with Death, while he was sitting in the Chariot with *Marcus* ; as we have before mentioned in the Introduction.

“ *lus,*

“ *lus*, the great Founder of this City, would
 “ not bear his Brother only deriding and vili-
 “ fying his Work. I pafs by *Germanicus* and
 “ *Titus* ; the former, Brother of *Nero*, the lat-
 “ ter of *Domitian*. *Marcus* himfelf, that fage
 “ Pretender to Philofophy and Meeknefs, ra-
 “ ther than bear the Contumely of *Lucius* his
 “ Son-in-law, cut him off by fecret Treachery.
 “ But I, while Poifons were preparing for my
 “ Food, and the Sword already lifted to my
 “ Throat, awarded the Blow, and revenged
 “ myfelf on an Enemy (for his Actions fuffi-
 “ ciently juftify that Name). And You there-
 “ fore ought to return hearty Thanks to the
 “ Gods, who have faved at leaft one of your
 “ Emperors ; and to ceafe henceforth from all
 “ Party-heats and Animofities, and pafs the
 “ Remainder of your Days in Security and
 “ Concord, looking only to one Sovereign
 “ for Protection. For as *Jupiter* reigns fole
 “ Monarch of the Gods ; fo he now gives the
 “ Government of Men into the Hands of One
 “ Supreme.”

Thefe Words were uttered with a ftrong
 ftern Voice ; after which, having caft a Look
 full of Wrath and Terror upon *Geta's* Friends,
 he left the greateft part of them trembling and
 pale ; and returned with hafte to the Imperial
 Palace.

His un-
 bounded
 Cruelty.

Here he foon let loofe his Fury againft all
 in his Brother's Service ; whether Minifters,
 Counfellors, Friends, Officers, or Domeltics.
 Neither Age nor Sex was fpared. Children,
 and even Infants, were maffacred ; and their
 dead Carcafles, thrown into Carts, with all the
 Marks of Indignity and Contempt, were car-
 ried,

ried out of the City, and burnt in promiscuous Heaps, as every one came first to hand. Nor did one escape Death, who had the least familiarity or acquaintance with *Geta*. The very Wrestlers, Charioteers, Players, Musicians, Dancers, and all he had kept for the Divertisement of his Eyes or Ears, shared the same Fate. And such of the Senators as were most distinguished by Blood or Fortune, were, upon the weakest Proofs, nay, upon mere Surmise or Hear-say, condemned and executed, as Favourers of *Geta*. He even put to Death the eldest Sister of *Commodus*, now an old Woman, and held in Honour by all the former Emperors, as the Daughter of *Marcus*; alledging, as a heinous Charge against her, that she was found weeping in his Mother's Apartment, and condoling with her the Loss of her Son. *Plautian's* Daughter, his divorced Wife, who was now an Exile in *Sicily*; his First Cousin, call'd after his Father's Name, *Severus*; *Pertinax's* Son; the Son of *Lucilla*, *Commodus's* Sister: in a word, all the Descendants of the former Emperors, and those of the most illustrious Families in the Senate, he cut off; as if he designed to extinguish the very Reliques of Imperial and Patrician Blood^k,

^k *Dio* affirms, what is almost incredible, that the Number of Men, Women, and Children put to Death by him, as Friends to *Geta*, was no less than 20,000. Among these was *Papinian*, Prefect of the Pretorians, his own and his Brother's Tutor; of whom *Zosimus* gives this Character; Ἄνδρα δικαιοτάτον, καὶ ἐπὶ νόμων γνώσει τε καὶ εἰσηγήσει πάντας τὲς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίους νομοθέτας ὑπερβαλλόμενον. *A Man of the strictest Justice; and one, who in the Knowledge and Exposition of the Laws, excelled all the Roman Lawyers before and after him.* *Spartian* tells us, *Antoninus* condemn'd to Death all who wore Amulets or Charms about their Necks

And sending to the several Provinces, he put to death all the Governors and Stewards, as Friends to his Brother. Not a Night passed without the frequent Murthers of Men of every Nation. The *Vestal* Nuns were buried alive, as having violated their Oaths of Virginity. And, to complete all, he committed an Action so strange, that it can hardly be parallel'd.

The Soldiers fall upon the People.

For being present at the Races in the *Circus*, some of the Multitude mock'd and laugh'd at one of the Charioteers, who was his great Favourite; which he taking as an Affront to himself, orders the Army to fall upon the Spectators; and to drag and murder those, who had the Impudence to abuse the Charioteer. The Soldiers, having got the Power of doing mischief, did not stand long to examine who had so saucily affronted the Emperor (for it was impossible to find the right Person, among so numerous a Crowd of People, as No-body dared to confess the Truth) but seizing all they could lay their Hands on, they either cut them to pieces, or, having stript them of all they had about them, as a Ransom for their Blood, with much ado, let them escape alive.

Antoninus
leaves
Rome.

Tormented with the Stings of Conscience for these atrocious Impieties, and grown weary of so long a Residence in the City, he resolves to make an Expedition from *Rome*, to review his Camps in other Parts, and inspect into the Affairs of the several Provinces. Accordingly, he set out from *Italy*, and arrived at the Banks of the *Danube*; where he staid some time set-

Necks for the Cure of Agues; a Custom very much in use both among the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

tring

ling Affairs in the North, and exercising his Body with driving Chariots at the Races, and combating with various kinds of Wild Beasts. Sometimes, indeed, he would pretend to decide Causes of Judicature; but this was but very seldom, and even then he huddled up the Matter, deciding upon the first Plea, or generally passing Sentence before he had enter'd into the Merits of the Cause. He brought over to his Interest all the *Germans* on the other Side of the River; and conciliated their Affections to that degree, that he made them his Allies, and chose out the stoutest and most comely Men amongst them for Guards to his Person: And oftentimes, rejecting his *Roman* Robe, he dress'd himself in the Habit of a *German*; and appear'd publicly in a *German* Casaque¹, laced and embroidered with Silver; and wore a Perriwig of yellow Hair, clip'd exactly after their manner of Tonsure. This mightily pleased the Barbarians; who were excessively fond of him upon that Account. Nor were the *Roman* Soldiers less affected to him, by reason of the frequent Donatives he so lavishly distributed amongst them, and because he did every thing as a common Soldier. For whether a Trench was to be dug, or a Bridge built over any River, or a Cavity filled up with Earth, or whatever was the Task, his Hand was first put to the Work, and he

¹ There was another sort of Cloak brought by *Antoninus* from *Gaul* to *Rome*. It had a Hood joining to it, to cover the Head, and hung quite down to the Ancles. This he forced the People and Soldiery to wear; and from thence he got the Name of *Caracallus*; under which we find him mention'd by several Writers: For the ancient *Gauls* call'd this sort of Cloak *Caracalla*.

constantly underwent his share of the Labour. His Table was homely and frugal; and he often ate and drank out of wooden Dishes, always making use of extemporary Bread; the Corn of which he first ground with his own Hands, to a Quantity sufficient for one Person, then form'd it into a Lump, and afterwards baked it himself upon the Coals. Thus despising every thing that was nice or dainty, he lived on the meanest Food, and such as might easily be got by the poorest of the Soldiers; and seemed fonder of being called by the Army their Fellow-Soldier than their Emperor. Whenever he march'd, it was generally on foot like the rest, and but very seldom on horseback, or in a Chariot. Besides, he carried his own Arms; and sometimes bore on his Shoulders the public Standards and Ensigns of the Army, though very long, and loaded with Gold and other sacred Ornaments, so weighty, that it was a Burden for the strongest Soldier. By these and the like Offices, he won the Esteem of the Army; who at once loved him as a good Officer, and admired him as a stout and hardy Soldier. For it was next to a Miracle, that so much Strength and Fortitude could be lodged in a Man of so little a size.

He affects
to be
Alexander
the Great.

When he had regulated the Camp on the *Danube*, he descended into that Part of *Thrace* that borders on *Macedonia*; where he presently starts up another *Alexander the Great*. For he renewed the Memory of that King every where, and ordered his Pictures and Statues to be erected in all the Cities; and filled the Capitol and other Temples at *Rome* with Images, to shew that *Alexander* and He were congenial, that the

Suol

Soul of the *Macedonian* lived again in the *Roman*: And it was not without Laughter, that we saw in several Pictures, the Forms of one Body under one Head with a double Face, representing at once *Alexander* and *Antoninus*. He now appeared in a *Macedonic* Habit, with a *Causia* on his Head, and Pantofles on his Feet. He picked out a Corps of young Soldiers, and called them his *Macedonian* Phalanx; and ordered their Officers to assume the Names of *Alexander's* Generals: And having sent for some Youths from *Sparta*, he calls them his *Laconic*, and *Pitanate* Cohort^m.

These Regiments being completed, and every thing settled in the best Order the Circumstances to *Pergamus* of each City permitted, he hastens to *Pergamus*^{mus} in *Asia*, with Intent to apply to *Æsculapius* for the Recovery of his Health. Where when he was

^m A Body of Forces so call'd from *Pitane*, a City in *Æolia*, mention'd by *Herodotus*, lib. i. These came into *Laconia* and settled a Colony; the chief Town of which they call'd, after the Name of their old City, *Pitane*. *Herodotus*, lib. iii. assures us, he met *Archias* at *Pitane*: For *Archias* (says he) was one of that People. The same Author, lib. ix. mentions the *Pitanate* Cohort led by *Amompharetus* in the Army of the *Lacedæmonians*, of which *Pausanias* had the chief Command. But *Thucydides*, Præfat. ad Bell. *Pelopon.* denies that the *Pitanate* Cohort ever belonged to the *Lacedæmonians* at all, and obliquely glances at *Herodotus* for his want of Veracity. Be this as it may, the Fame of the *Pitanate* Cohort was highly extolled by Writers of latter Ages; and they were thought (as *Alexander ab Alexandro* observes lib. i. c. 5.) the Flower of the *Spartan* Troops, and were kept as a *Corps de Reserve*, never to be used but in the Extremity of Danger. The Number of Men that formed this *Dernier Resort* is very uncertain. *Ephorus*, *Calisthenes*, and *Polybius*, vary in their Accounts of the *Spartan* Cohorts; and make their Complements from 500 to 900 Men. Vid. *Plat.* in *Pelopidas*.

arrived, and had amused himself with Dreams ⁿ as long as he thought fit, he went to *Ilium*; and surveying all the Reliques of the City, he came at last to *Achilles's* Tomb; where, adorning himself with Garlands, and all sorts of fine Flowers, he would now mimic *Achilles*: But wanting somebody for a *Patroclus*, he devised the following Freak.

He per- He had a Favourite, named *Festus*, one of his
forms Fu- Freedmen, and Chief of the *Imperial Remem-*
neral Ho- brancers^o. This Man died while he was at *Ili-*
nours to um, designedly taken off (as some report) by
the Shade of *Achil-* Poison, that he might be buried after the Man-
les. les.

ⁿ To understand this, the Reader must be inform'd, that, for Recovery from Sickneſs, the Ancients brought the Patient into the Temple of *Æſculapius* the God of Phyſic; where he was to compose himſelf on a Couch; and the God of the Place was ſuppoſed to viſit him in his Sleep. Accordingly, whatever the ſick Perſon dream'd of, that was thought to be the Remedy preſcribed by *Æſculapius* for his Recovery. *Plautus* mentions this Cuſtom in his *Curculio*, Act. i. Scen. 1. But *Ariſtophanes*, in his Comedy intituled *Plutus*, or *Wealth*, gives a more copious Deſcription of the Ceremony. For in the 2d Scene of the 3d Act, *Cario* is introduced recounting all the Particulars made uſe of on this Occaſion; ſuch as waſhing the Patient *Plutus*, who was to be healed of his Blindneſs, composing him in juſt Order, with the whole Apparatus of Divine Service perform'd to the God of Phyſic. The *Egyptians* obſerved much the like Ceremony in the Temple of their Deity *Scrapis*; to whom the Sick among them had recourſe for the Recovery of their Health.

^o The *Romans* call'd theſe Remembrancers, *Dictatores ad memoriam*, or *memoriæ*; *Dictators of Memoirs*. Their Office was, to ſee that all Occurrences worthy the Emperor's Memory ſhould be ſet down in Commentaries, or Day-books; that ſo they might, on any Emergency, have recourſe to thoſe Commentaries, and ſee what Meaſures were taken in parallel Caſes. Beſides this, if the Emperor deſigned to ſend Orders, write Letters, or tranſact any

Affair

ner of *Petroclus*; but others say, he died a natural Death. *Antoninus* orders his Body to be carried forth, and a Pile to be built with large quantities of Wood: And having laid the Corpse on the Pile, and sacrificed Creatures of various kinds, he sets fire to the Wood, and holding a Vial in his Hands, makes a Libation to the *Winds*, and repeats the Funeral Prayers. But being very thin-hair'd, and wanting Hair to put into the Fire according to the usual Custom, he excited a great Laughter among the Spectators. However, he cut off what Hair he had, and performed the Ceremony as well as he could. Of all great Generals he most admired two, *Sylla* the *Roman*, and *Hannibal* the *Libyan*; to whom he raised several Statues and Images.

Again he departed from *Ilium*, and passing through the other *Asia*, and *Bitbynia*, and the rest of the Nations, he orders in every Place what he would have done, and proceeds to *Antioch*; where he was splendidly entertained, and tarried some time. After which, he sets out for *Alexandria*, pretending he had a Desire to see the City built by *Alexander*, and apply to the God^p they most religiously adore in those

He goes
to *Alex-
andria*.

Affair of Government, which the present time would not permit; the Remembrancer was ordered to make a Memorandum of the thing, that by these means nothing of Importance might be neglected through any Failure of the Prince's Memory.

^p The God here mentioned was *Sarapis*, or *Serapis*, the principal Deity of the *Alexandrians*. By *Serapis*, and *Isis* (which signifies a *Wife*) among the *Egyptians*, was meant *Heaven* and *Earth*, the same as by *Saturn* and *Ops* among the *Latins*, as *Varro*, De ling. Lat. lib. iv. learnedly observes. From the Conjunction of these two, as Male and Female, arise the first Origins of all Things. Sometimes the *Egyptians* called this Deity *Apis*; which in their Lan-
^pguage

Parts. These were his specious Pretexts, the Worship of the Deity, and the Memory of the Hero. Hecatombs therefore are ordered to be got ready, and Preparations made for religious

guage signifies *Fiery*. The *Greeks* call'd him Ἐπαφῶ, from ἐπάπλω, *I kindle, or burn*. So *Herodotus*, lib. ii. Ὁ δὲ Ἄπις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν ἐστὶν Ἐπαφῶ. *Apis in the Greek Tongue is Epaphus*. This Name was given him from the *fiery, or ethereal Nature of the Heavens; Fire, according to most Philosophers, being the first Seed or Principle of Creation; which operating on the Earth, the cold moist Part, caused the Production of Animals*. The same Propriety is in the Name *Serapis*, from שָׂרַפְּ Saraph, *He burned*. In the Sacred Writings שְׂרָפִים *Seraphim*, denotes, not only an Order of *Fiery Angels*, but *hot Creatures*, and particularly *Fiery Serpents*. In *Numb. xxi.* we are told, the *Israelites* were bitten by *Fiery Serpents*, and God commanded *Moses* to lift up שָׂרַפְּ Saraph, a *Fiery Serpent*, that they who were bitten by הַנְּחָשִׁים הַשָּׂרָפִים *The Fiery Serpents*, might by looking on it be cured of their Wounds. And, tho' our learned *Selden* thinks otherwise, it seems to be this *Serapis*, or *Fiery God*, of the *Egyptians*, that the *Israelites*, after they came out of *Egypt*, worshipped in the Form of a Golden Calf. For *Herodotus*, lib. iii. assures us, that the *Apis* worshipped by the *Egyptians* was a Calf; which, they pretended, was struck with Fire from Heaven, and then disappeared for a time; being (as other Authors relate) sunk in the River Nile. The Sick were brought into his Temple for Recovery, in the same manner as we have, in Note ", observed of *Æsculapius*.

This *Serapis* of the *Egyptians* was, at their first receiving *Christianity*, often confounded with *Christ*. Thus *Flavius Vopiscus*, in his *Life of Saturnine*, cites a Letter to the Consul *Servian*, written by *Adrian*, in whose Reign the *Alexandrians* found their God; as we have related before in the Introduction. In this Letter, after complaining of the Levity of the *Egyptians*, the Emperor says; *Illi qui Serapin colunt, Christiani sunt; et devoti sunt Serapi, qui se Christi Episcopos dicunt; They [of the Egyptians] who worship Serapis are Christians; and such as are devoted to Serapis call themselves Bishops of Christ*. And a little after; *Ipse ille Patriarcha, quum Ægyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur Christum; Their Patriarch himself,*

when

Ceremonies of all sorts. Which coming to the Ears of the *Alexandrian* Populace, as they are a People of exceeding Levity, and easily affected by the slightest Impressions, they were transported at the News of the Emperor's great Kindness and Condescension : And prepared for his Reception in a manner more pompous than what was ever provided for any King before. Instruments of every kind of Music, disposed in different Places, sounded in various Conforts through all the City ; Perfumes and fragrant Spices breath'd grateful Odours in every Passage ; Flambeaux and Tapers illuminated the Streets ; and all his Way was strewed with Flowers.

As soon as he entred the City with his whole Army, he went first to the Temple, sacrificed many Hecatombs, and loaded the Altars with Incense. Thence he proceeded to *Alexander's* Monument ; where he pulls off his Purple Robe, his Diamond Rings, his Belt, and every thing that was valuable about him, and offers it at the Hero's Shrine : Which the *Alexandrians* seeing, were ravish'd with Joy ; and sported and feasted whole Nights and Days, little suspecting his secret Design. For all these Shews

when he comes to Egypt, is by some forced to adore Serapis, by others Christ. And in the same Letter ; Unus illis Deus est. Hunc Christiani, hunc Judæi, hunc omnes venerantur et gentes ; They have but one God. Him the Christians worship, him the Jews, him all the Egyptians, and those of other Nations. From all which it appears, that the Alexandrians took Serapis and Christ to be the same. Nor shall we so much wonder at the Strangeness of their Opinion, if we consider, that our Saviour tells us, in John iii. 14. that the Seraph, or Fiery Serpent of Moses, was a Type of the Son of Man.

of Favour were but mere Farce; and his real Intent was to cut off the whole City, from a private Hatred he owed them upon this Account.

The *Alexandrians* much addicted to Raillery.

During his Residence at *Rome*, both while his Brother was living; and after his Death, he had frequently been told, that the *Alexandrians* had often mocked and derided him. And it must be own'd, they are People naturally fond of Ridicule, and exceeding pert in Mockery and Mimic; throwing ludicrous Jest at the greatest Personages; which themselves are delighted with as something very pretty, but the Persons glanced at often bitterly resent it: For this kind of Drollery stings deep, especially when the Sarcasm is true, and the Party is conscious of the Vice objected. Many Jokes then of this sort had they pass'd against *Antoninus*; lashing him for the Murther of his Brother; ludicrously calling his Mother *Jocasta*^a; and sneering at

^a *Jocasta* was the Name of *Oedipus's* Mother; whom *Oedipus* married, after having kill'd her Husband. But both these Actions were committed through Ignorance. For when *Oedipus* found she was his Mother, and that he had kill'd his own Father, he ran distracted, and tore out his Eyes; as we find the Story nobly painted in *Sophocles*. This Sarcasm stung *Antoninus* to the heart. For he had carnal Knowledge of his Mother, or rather his Father's Wife; for *Julia* was only the Parent of *Geta*; and *Antoninus* was the Son of *Martia*, *Severus's* former Wife.

Spartian tells us, *Antoninus* was equally sneer'd at by the *Romans*, for assuming the Title of *Germanicus* after the Conquest of the *Germans*. For the Word *Germanus* signifies both a *German* and a *Brother*. This Ambiguity afforded matter of Laughter to his Enemies; who, pleased with the Conceit, called him *Germanicus*, in Allusion to his murdering *Geta* his Brother by the Father's side. These Half-Brothers were sometimes called *Germani fratres*, *Brother-Germans*. But it must be observed, that *Varro*, as cited by

by

himself, that being a very little Man, he had the Vanity to mimic the greatest and stoutest Heroes, *Alexander* and *Achilles* : All which they meant for Sport and witty Jest; but they proved in the sequel serious Evils, exasperating *Antoninus*, vindictive and bloody enough by Nature, to lay a Plot which effected their Destruction.

Having therefore honour'd them with his A.D. 215.
 Prefence at their public Feasts and Diversions ; *Antoninus*
 and perceiving the City to be filled with the massacres
 Multitude, that had flocked thither from all the the *Alex-*
 Country round ; he publish'd a Proclamation, *andrians.*
 enjoining all the Youth to assemble in a certain Plain ; for that he designed to have another Phalanx constituted in Honour of *Alexander* ; and as those he had formed before were called the *Macedonian* and *Spartan*, this would, after the Hero's own Name, be the *Alexandrian Phalanx* : But withal, orders them to draw up in Ranks, that at the Review he might examine the Age, Size, and Vigour, of every one he judged fit to be lifted. The Youths were easily taken by these fine Pretences, and thinking him sincere, from those Marks of Favour he had already shewed their City, came according to Order, accompanied by their Parents and Brothers congratulating them on the great Honour they were going to receive. But *Antoninus* rode slowly through the Ranks, clapping them singly on their Shoulders, and giving them Commendation in various Terms, till

by *Servius*, ad *Æneid.* v. l. 412. affirms, that *Germanus* signifies a Brother by the same Mother : And *Virgil*, in the above Place, calls *Eryx*, Son of *Venus*, Brother-German of *Æneas*.

his Army furrounded them, before they either saw or suspected it. When he guess'd they were by this time environ'd with a Circle of Arms, and caught as it were in the Toils, having gone through the Review, he withdraws with his Guards. Then, the Sign being given, his Soldiers advance from all Sides and fall upon the whole unarm'd Multitude of Youths, and every body else that was within the Ring, butchering them in a various but universal Massacre; some hacking and slaughtering, others digging Holes in the Ground, the rest dragging the Victims, and tumbling them by Heaps into the Pits, till they had made it all one common Grave, and raised the Earth into a vast mountainous Tomb over their Bodies. Nor were all slain by the Sword; but many, who were but half dead, were thrown promiscuous among the rest, and some were buried alive and unwounded. The Soldiers likewise fell, and that to no small Number: For as many of the *Alexandrians* as had any Breath and Strength remaining, laid fast hold on their Murtherers, and drew them with themselves into the Pit. So vast was the Havock, that the Blood ran in Rivulets along the Plain, and tinged the Mouths of the *Nile*, tho' exceeding wide, and the adjacent Shores, with a sanguine Dye.

His Letter to the
Parthian.
A.D. 216.

His Revenge thus satiated, he takes his Departure for *Antioch*; where, not long after, mightily coveting to take the Surname of *Parthicus*, and to write to the *Romans* that he had reduced all the Barbarians of the East under Subjection, though in the midst of a profound Peace, he schemed a Stratagem of this nature. He writes to *Artabanus*, King of the *Parthians*,
and

and sends an Ambassage, with curious Presents very valuable both for Materials and Workmanship. In the Letters he sets forth, “ That he
“ desired to marry the King’s Daughter; alledg-
“ ing, that it would be out of Character, for
“ him, who was a King and the Son of a King,
“ to become a Son-in-law to any private Per-
“ son; and therefore he chose for his Wife one
“ that was a Queen and the Daughter of a
“ great King. That the two greatest King-
“ doms of the World were this of the *Romans*,
“ and that of the *Parthians*; which joined by
“ this Affinity, and no longer divided by a
“ River, would become one potent irresistible
“ Sovereignty. That the rest of the Barbarian
“ Nations, now under these Powers, would by
“ these means be more easily kept in Subjec-
“ tion, whether single Nations or whole Pro-
“ vinces. That the *Romans* were most power-
“ ful in Foot Forces, and excell’d all the World
“ in the use of Spears, and in pitch’d Battles :
“ But that the *Parthians* had numerous Troops
“ of Cavalry, and were far the expertest at the
“ Bow. That, when these two should be united,
“ and make all their warlike Preparations with
“ one Consent, it would be no difficult Mat-
“ ter, under one Diadem, to reign over all the
“ inhabited World. That the Productions and
“ Manufactures of *Parthia* were the most fra-
“ grant Spices; and the richest and finest Works
“ of the Loom: And the *Romans*, on the other
“ hand, had plenty of precious Metals, and
“ wrought with the most curious and wonder-
“ ful Art. That these Commodities would now
“ be no longer imported by Merchants in small
“ Quantities, and by secret and illicit Traffic;

“ but, when by the Union of the two King-
 “ doms there should be one Land and one So-
 “ vereignty, the Enjoyment of all these Goods
 “ would be common to both by a mutual un-
 “ prohibited Commerce.”

The Par-
 thian's
 Answer.

At the receipt of these Letters, the *Parthian*
 at first made a peremptory Refusal; saying,
 “ That a Marriage with a Barbarian was very
 “ improper for a *Roman*. For what Harmony
 “ could there be between a Pair, who neither
 “ understood one the other's Language, and
 “ whose Diet and Utenfils were utterly contra-
 “ rious? That there were many Ladies among
 “ the *Romans* of good Birth, one of whom the
 “ Emperor might chuse for his Wife; and with
 “ him was *Arsacides*, a proper Match for his
 “ Daughter: And therefore there was no Rea-
 “ son why either of the Nations should be adul-
 “ terated by a foreign Bed.” This Answer he
 at first wrote back; but when *Antoninus* ply'd
 him close with Presents, and declared with so-
 lemn Oaths his Eagerness for the Match, and
 how willing he was to confirm their mutual
 Alliance and Amity, the Barbarian at last was
 credulous enough to consent; and promising
 him his Daughter, calls him now his future
 Son-in-law.

A.D. 217.
Antoninus
 enters
Parthia.

The Fame of which being spread, the *Par-*
thians got every thing in readiness for the Re-
 ception of the *Roman* King; and rejoiced at
 the Hopes of an everlasting Peace. *Antoninus*,
 having past the Rivers unmolested, rode into
 the *Parthian* Territories, as now his own; and
 while Sacrifices were perform'd for him in every
 Place, the Altars hung with Garlands, and Ob-
 lations offered of sweet Spices and all sorts of
 odo-

odoriferous Incense, he seem'd very well pleased with the Honours given him by the Barbarians. But the greatest part of his Journey being finished, when he was approaching the Royal Seat of *Artabanus*, the King could not contain himself, but went out to meet his Daughter's Spouse and his own Son-in-law in the Plain before the City : And the whole Multitude of the Barbarians, as at a mirthful Festival, being crowned with Garlands of all sorts of Flowers the Country afforded, and dressed in long Robes variegated with Gold and curious Dyes of different Colours, came skipping along in musical Measure to the blithful Sounds of Flutes, Pipes, and Tabors. For they are mightily delighted with these sorts of merry Dances, especially when they are a little elevated with Wine.

When they were all assembled, they alighted from their Horses ; and, having laid aside their Quivers and Bows, fell to making Libations and carousing in Honour of the Match. The greatest part of the Nation was there ; and stood as regardless of Order, as they were fearless of Danger ; every one pushing and crouding to get a Sight of the new Bridegroom : When all on a sudden *Antoninus* gives the Signal to his Army to fall on and massacre the Barbarians ; who, frightened at the unexpected Treachery, turn'd their Backs and fled. The *Romans* pursued, killing or wounding all they came up with. *Artabanus*, snatch'd up by his Body-Guards, and put upon a Horse, narrowly escaped with a few of his Attendants. The rest of the Multitude were cut to pieces, being without their chief Safeguard, their Horses, which they had sent away to graze ; nor could they

escape

escape by their Heels, for their long loose Robes hung down to their Ancles, and greatly embarrass'd their Flight; and Quivers and Bows they had none: For what need was there of Arms at a Wedding? *Antoninus*, having made a great Slaughter among the Barbarians, and taken immense Plunder, and Thousands of Captives, march'd off unmolested; firing the Villages and Cities as he pass'd, and giving his Soldiers free Licence to rob and plunder all that came in their Way. This unexpected Calamity suffer'd the Barbarians.

Having scoured through the greatest part of the Country, and tired his Soldiers with Ravages and Murthers, *Antoninus* returns into *Mesopotamia*. Thence he writes to the *Roman* Senate and People, that he had reduced all the East; and that the Subjects of the Kingdom beyond the *Tigris* had all submitted to his Power. The Senate, not ignorant of what had been done (for to conceal the Actions of Kings is impossible) yet, through Fear and Flattery, decreed him all the Honours of Victory. After this, he remained some time in *Mesopotamia*, spending his Time in Chariot-Races, and hunting and destroying Wild Beasts.

Audentius
and
Macrinus.

The Government of the Army was at this Time lodged in the Hands of two Prefects. One of whom, *Audentius* by Name, was a very old Man, and seem'd to have been a good Soldier; but of Politics, and every other Art or Science, was entirely ignorant: The other, named *Macrinus*, was well versed in forensic Affairs, and exceedingly learned in the Laws. *Antoninus* would often publicly sneer at this Man, as neither military nor valiant; and sometimes

times revile him in a very scandalous manner. For hearing that he lived in a more genteel way, nauseating the coarse refuse Food, and ordinary Drink, that *Antoninus*, Soldier-like, was mightily fond of; and wearing a little Robe, or other fine Clothes, more agreeable to a City-Life; he often reproach'd him with Cowardice and Effeminacy; and threatened several times to kill him. This *Macrinus* most deeply resented; and the predestin'd End of *Antoninus's* Life drawing near, there happened the following Accident.

Antoninus was of a very inquisitive Nature, The Em-
and loved to pry, not only into the Affairs of peror
Mankind, but even into the Mysteries of the sends to
Gods and Dæmons. For suspecting all about Rome to
him to be Traitors, he was so frequently making consult
the most scrupulous Researches into Oracles, the Magi-
and sending for Magicians, Astrologers, and cians.
Soothsayers^r; that not one Professor of these

^r As we read of no Nation, or Age, that has not made Pretensions to some divine Revelation to instruct them in the Knowledge of Things to come; so there never was a People that laid greater Strefs upon the Prediction of future Events, than the *Romans*; and that not only under their Kings, and Emperors, but in the middle and most flourishing Ages of their Commonwealth. They had a College or Chapter of *Augurs*, whose Office it was to interpret Dreams, Oracles, &c. instituted by *Romulus* at the building of the City, and continued down, with Augmentations, through the succeeding Ages. Nor was any Affair of Importance, either public or private, ever undertaken without consulting some Divine for it's Issue. *Cicero* divides all the various sorts of Divination into two Kinds, a *natural*, and an *artificial*. Under the former is comprehended Dreams, and every sort of prophetic Inspiration, delivered from mere Impulse of the Mind, without any Assistance from Art or Learning. The latter takes in all that Variety of Divination, that proceeds upon Principles of

juggling Sects escaped his Notice. Till at last, growing suspicious of these too, and thinking they had regard not to Truth but Flattery in their Answers, he writes to one *Maternian*, who had

of Art peculiar to every Sect of profess'd Soothsayers. Of this Divination there were six chief Sorts in use among the *Romans*.

1. The *Observation of the Heavens*, or the Art of foretelling Events by Thunder, Lightning, Comets, and other *Phænomena*. This they call'd *Servare cælum*.

2. *Astrology*, or the reading the Fate of Terrestrial Affairs in the Motions, Aspects, and Positions, of the Heavenly Bodies.

3. *Augury*, by which is chiefly understood the Prognostications made from observing the Chattering and Singing of Birds.

4. *Aspice*, or the Art of Divining, by remarking how the Fowls flew; and in what Manner the Chicken peck'd their Grain, when they were let out of their Coops in order to make the Experiment.

5. *Aruspice*, or the Knowledge of Events, from inspecting the Entrails of the several Beasts in Sacrifice.

6. *Necromancy*, or the Evocation of Ghosts from their Graves; done by Spells and Incantations, supposed to have irresistible Influence on the Infernal Powers.

These were the principal Sorts of artificial Divination. The natural kind of Predictions, by Dreams, oraculous Answers, and prophetic Enthusiam, are too well known to need any Repetition. But besides these there was a third kind of Divination, which does not exactly fall under the former two Divisions, as it had Recourse only to what is vulgarly called Chance, without any Pretension either to Art or prophetic Madness. This the *Latins* call *Sortilegium*, or the Reading Mens Destinies by *Sortes* or Lots. These were little pieces of Wood, and sometimes of Earth or other Matter; on which were inscribed Letters, or Words. The Lots were cast into an Urn, sometimes empty, sometimes full of Water; and, after shaking them together, were thrown out upon the Ground; when whatever Sense could be pick'd out from the casual Arrangement of the Letters on the Lots, that was supposed to be the Answer of the Oracle. When this sort of Divination was discontinued, another kind of *Sortes* was introduced; which was, to dip into
the

the Management of all his Affairs at *Rome*, and whom he judged the faithfulest of his Friends, and had trusted with his most important Secrets, to look for the best Magicians could be

the Writings of *Homer*, *Virgil*, or any famous Poet; and those Verses which first presented at the opening the Book, were taken for the Oracle. This Custom obtained mightily in the latter Ages; and was frequently used by the *Christians*; only, instead of Heathen Poems, the Bible was chosen by them for the Book of Divination. Several of the Fathers, particularly *St. Austin*, have given their Approbation of this Method, provided it be done, as that good Bishop cautions, for pious Purposes.

There has been a world of Controversy among the Writers of all Ages, about the Truth or Falshood of Divination; and what sort (if any) comes from God, and what from the *Devil*. Some have, through too much Folly, given Credit to almost every kind of Prediction: Others again, through too much Wisdom, have dogmatically condemned all. *Cicero* endeavours to prove all Divination, both natural and artificial (as he calls it) a Cheat. But the Arguments he brings are far from conclusive, being chiefly grounded upon Mens Ignorance of the *Reason* and *Usefulness* of Predictions: As if his Antagonist might not justly retort, that innumerable Occurrences happen in Life, of which we can give no *reasonable* Account from philosophical Principles, nor do they fall under the Cognizance of any of our Senses; and as many Works of Creation visibly exist, both animate and inanimate, which are so far from being of any apparent *Use*, that many of them seem useless, and others are plainly destructive. His capital Objection, That Prophecies and Divinations disagree with one another, does not prove, that none are true; but only (what few ever denied) that the greatest part were Lies and Impostures.

In the sacred Scriptures, the Dreams of *Joseph*, *Pharaoh*, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, are recorded as Truths. The *Magi* or *Diviners* (for so the Word imports) seem to have learn'd the Birth of our Saviour from the Aspect of the Heavenly Bodies. That Miracles may be perform'd by Magicians, and Prophets of *heterodox* Principles, is plain from the Story of the *Egyptian* Conjurers, who produced several Plagues, as well as *Moses*; and from the famous Caution in *Deut.*

found; and, making use of the Necromancer's Art, to learn the Time and Manner of his Death; and whether any one was privately plotting how to seize upon the Government. *Maternian* boldly executes the Emperor's Orders; and whether the Infernal Powers really gave him such Information, or whether it was through some private Pique to *Macrinus*, he writes back to the Emperor, that *Macrinus* was contriving treasonable Means for getting the Imperial Dignity; and that therefore it stood

xiii. 1, 2. The Witch of *Endor* is a glaring Instance of *Necromancy*. And tho' the *Jews* were forbid to use foreign Divination; yet that other Nations were no way concern'd in their Prohibition, but that they foretold Events by looking on the Entrails of Beasts, appears from *Ezek. xxi. 21, 22.* where the Destruction of *Jerusalem* was reveal'd to the King of *Babylon*, by Inspection of the Liver, and other Omens; and God himself, by that Prophet, seems to ratify the Divination. The Text in the original *Hebrew* is;
 כִּי־עָמַר מֶלֶךְ־בָּבֶל אֶל־אִם הַדֶּרֶךְ בְּרֹאשׁ שְׁנֵי
 הַדְּרָכִים לִנְסֻם־נַפְסִים קֶלֶקֶל בַּחֲצִים שָׁאֵל
 בַּתְּרָפִים רָאָה בַּכְּבֹד: בִּימֵנוּ הִיא הַנֶּסֶם יְרוּשָׁלַם
Because the King of Babylon stood at the Chief of the Way, at the Head of the two Ways, to divine a Divination; he brighten'd Arrows; he consulted Images; HE LOOK'D ON THE LIVER. In his Right Hand the Divination was Jerusalem. In this Text the Word translated *Images* is תְּרָפִים *Teraphim*, the very Term given to *Laban's* Images stolen by *Rachel*; *Gen. xxxi. 19.* which *Laban* afterwards calls his Gods, saying to *Jacob*, י 30. *Why hast thou stolen אֱלֹהֵי עֵלֵבִי, My Gods.* These were the Gods by which *Laban* divined, that he was blest for *Jacob's* sake. For in the 27th Verse of the precedent Chapter, he says to *Jacob*;
 נִחֲשֵׁתִי וַיְבָרֶכְנִי יְהוָה בַּגִּלְגָלִי. Which *St. Austin* justly renders; *Auguratus sum, &c. I have divined, or found by Augury, that JEHOVAH has blest me for thy sake.*

I own it appears very improbable, that the Entrails of Beasts should help to foretell Events; but not more strange, than that Prophets should be inspired with prophetic En-

Antoninus much upon to take him off. This Letter, seal'd up among the public Dispatches, was given, as usual, to the Couriers; who, knowing nothing of the Contents of their Charge, rode Express, after their accustomed manner, and came to *Antoninus*, just at the Time when he was going to the Races, and had already mounted his Chariot.

They delivered him the Pacquet safe, in The narrow Escape of *Macrinus*. which was the Letter relating to *Macrinus*. But the Emperor, wholly intent upon his Diversion

thusiasm by the Sound of Music; which was the Case with *Elisba*, as we are told 2 *Kings* iii. 15. where an Instrument was brought and played on, before the Prophet could be elevated to a height of Enthusiasm sufficient to predict the Event of the War with the *Moabites*. It were needless to enumerate all the Passages in the Scriptures, which mention prophetic Revelation among other Nations, as well as the *Jews*. All we shall remark at present is, that 'tis impossible to overthrow the Certainty of the one, without involving the other in the same Confutation; since the Objections are equally valid with regard to both. That there was a world of Priestcraft and Juggling among the Heathen no-body doubts; and that there was, and is the same among the Professors of all Religions, is too notorious to require any Proof. If the Heathen Predictions were often false; so were those of the *Jews*; as is plain, not only from the famous Prophecy of *Jonah* against *Nineveh*, but from *Ezek.* xiv. 9. 1 *Kings* xxii. 22, 23. and many other Places. Were the former paid for their Predictions? So were the latter; 1 *Sam.* ix. 8. In a word, tho' it would be the height of Superstition, to credit all the silly absurd Stories of Oracles, Augurs, Conjurers, and Fortune-tellers among the Pagans; yet that they sometimes reveal'd future Events, is confirm'd at least by the Testimony of the Scriptures: Nor would the contrary Persuasion have ever obtained, but from the narrow unworthy Opinion, that God never designed to superintend the Affairs of any People except the *Jews*; but without any regard to the Welfare of his Creatures, suffered all the World, except a handfull of Men in *Palæstine*, to shift for themselves as well as they were able.

at

at the Races, orders *Macrinus* to open the Pacquet apart by himself, and inspect the Contents; and if there was any thing of extraordinary Moment, to send him word; if not, that he should perform his Duty, as Prefect, in the usual manner (for he often gave him such a discretionary Power.) Having left these Orders, he proceeds to his Diversion. *Macrinus*, perusing the Letters in private, came at length to that which contained the Sentence of Death against himself. Shock'd at the impending Danger, and well knowing the fierce Nature of *Antoninus*, how ready he was to shed Blood on these Occasions, and how plausible an Excuse this afforded him, he secretes this Letter; and, according to Custom, relates the Contents of the rest to the Emperor. But still he feared, that *Maternian* might again write Things of this kind; and therefore thought it best to take the following adventurous Step, in order to prevent the bad Consequences of Delay.

There was one *Martial*, a Captain of *Antoninus's* Life-Guards, who was a constant Retainer to *Macrinus*, and whose Brother the Emperor had a few Days before put to death upon a private Calumny without Conviction; and had, besides, often vilified *Martial* himself, calling him Coward, Dastard, and *Macrinus's* Minion. *Macrinus*, well knowing all this; that *Martial* grievously resented his Brother's Death, and bore his own Ignominy very hardly, sends for him; and putting great Confidence in him, as one who had been long his Creature, and on whom he had bestowed many Benefits, advises him to watch a fit Opportunity and assassinate the Emperor. The Captain, influenced by *Macrinus's* Promises,

Promises, his own Hatred, and a Desire of revenging his Brother's Blood, readily undertakes the Task, and promises to execute it the first Opportunity.

Not long after this Agreement, it happened A.D. 218. that *Antoninus* had a mind to go from his Court *Antoninus* at *Carrhæ*, a City of *Mesopotamia*, and visit the *assassinated*. Temple of *the Moon*^f; which the Natives hold in most religious Veneration; and is distant from the City several Days Journey. He sets out for this Temple attended only with a few Horse; being unwilling to trouble the whole Army, inasmuch as he intended to return as soon as he should have paid his religious Service to the Goddess of the Place. But taken by the Way with a desire of easing Nature, he orders the rest to withdraw; and steps aside to obey the Call, attended only with one Servant. While every one else was retiring at a distance, with their Backs to the Emperor, out of regard to Decency and Reverence; *Martial*, who had all along watch'd every Moment of Time, seeing him now alone, starts on a sudden, as if the Emperor had beckon'd to him to come and see or hear something that had happened, and rushing upon him behind his Back, as he was

^f *Carrhæ* is the Place mentioned in the Old Testament under the Name of *Charan*, where *Abraham* dwelt. The Temple of *the Moon*, that *Antoninus* was going to visit, was at *Edeffa*, a City of the *Osrhoenes*. The Deity *Herodian* here calls Σελήνη, *The Moon*, is by *Spartian* named, in the Masculine Gender, *Lunus Deus*, *The Moon-God*. For the Eastern Nations commonly made the Moon a God, not a Goddess. And in the Sacred Writings מִן הַיָּרֵחַ *The Moon*, is not Feminine but Masculine. But of the Confusion of the Sexes in the Heathen Gods, see the Note ^{c d} in the next Book.

uncovering his Thighs, stabs him with a Dagger he had conceal'd for the purpose; and as the Weapon was directed to a critical Place (for it pierced exactly between the Joints) the Wound was mortal, and *Antoninus* fell unexpected, and therefore undefended.

Martial
kill'd.

The fatal Wound being given, *Martial* springs upon his Horse and makes off; but the German Horse-Guards, *Antoninus's* chief Favourites and vigilant Defenders, who had not retired so far as the rest, were the first who saw what was done; and pursuing *Martial* with full Speed, hurl'd their Darts at him, and tumbled him dead from his Horse.

The rest of the Soldiers, seeing what had happened, ran up to the Place: And *Macrinus* was the first to lament the Emperor's Death; and, standing over the dead Body, pretended to mourn bitterly. And the whole Army, tho' much concern'd for the Loss of him they look'd upon rather as a Fellow-Soldier and Companion, than a Sovereign, yet for a long while had not the least Suspicion of *Macrinus*; but thought *Martial* had only prosecuted his own private Revenge. They therefore returned to their Tents; and *Macrinus* having committed the Body to the Fire, and collected the Ashes in an Urn, sent them to his Mother, who then resided at *Antioch*, to bury. She, through Anguish of Spirit for the Loss of both her Children by such similar Ends, laid violent Hands on her own Life; whether voluntarily, or by Command, is uncertain^t. These Fates met

^t It was customary for the Emperors, and sometimes the Senate of *Rome*, to send a Weapon or Poison to those they designed to dispatch, with this Form: *The Emperor, &c.*
sends

Antoninus, and *Julia* his Mother, after having lived in the manner already described. The whole Time he reigned sole Monarch, without his Father or Brother, was about six Years.

An Interregnum of two Days ensued *Antoninus's* Death; during which the whole Army was in the utmost Confusion and Incertitude, debating who was the fittest Person to succede him in the Sovereignty. What most embarass'd them, was the News, that *Artabanus* was approaching with a great and mighty Army, to avenge the Blood of those who had been basely murdered, in a Time of Peace and pretended Alliance. At length they pitch'd upon *Audentius* for their Emperor, as a Man of a military Character, and no despicable Prefect. But he excusing himself upon account of his great Age, they transfer the Honour to *Macrinus*, chiefly through the Persuasion of some Tribunes, who were, after his Death, suspected to have been concerned with him in the Conspiracy, and privy to all his Designs; as we shall shew in the Sequel^v.

sends you this Sword. The Party was obliged to receive it, and kill himself; for fear of Death with the utmost Tortures. This Act of the Emperor the *Latin* Historians always express by *mori coegit*; or *ad mortem coegit*; *He forced them to die.* Therefore *Herodian* says, it was uncertain, whether *Julia* kill'd herself voluntarily, or had some such Message sent her by *Macrinus*.

^v The Reader must not expect any further Eclaircissement of this Affair in the Sequel. For *Herodian* never mentions one Word more about these Tribunes in his whole History. Not that he forgot himself; but the History, as we now have it, is very imperfect, as might be proved by several Passages. Which is the Case with all ancient Writings, both sacred and profane, as we have intimated before.

The Par-
thian ap-
proaches
with a vast
Army.

Macrinus therefore took the Government, not so much from the Good-will and Faith of the Soldiers, as the pressing Necessity of the present Conjuncture. For, while these Things were transacting, *Artabanus* was at hand with a prodigious Multitude, and a strange Variety of Forces, consisting of a great number of Horse-men, Bow-men, and Cuirassiers^w, who fought mounted on Camels and pushing with Spears of an extraordinary Length. *Macrinus*, being informed of his near Approach, summoned the Army together, and spoke to this effect.

The
Speech of
Macrinus
to the
Army.

“ That you all lament the Loss of so great
“ a Prince, or rather (to speak the Truth) of
“ so good a Soldier, is a Circumstance not at
“ all to be admired : But to bear the Calami-
“ ties and Afflictions of Life with Moderation,
“ this is the Part of wise and virtuous Men.
“ His Memory indeed shall ever remain fix’d
“ in our Breasts ; and future Ages shall be told
“ his great heroic Actions, his uncommon Love
“ and Affection to his Soldiers ; and how rea-
“ dily he shared in all your Toils : And the
“ Fame of this shall crown his Name with Im-
“ mortality. But now, having paid the just
“ Honours to his Memory, and performed all
“ the religious Offices due to the Deceased, the
“ Time demands your Care for the present Ex-
“ igeance. You see the Barbarian approaching
“ with all the multitude of the populous East ;
“ and not without some plausible Excuses for

^w The Ancients call’d those Cuirassiers *Catapraeti*. They were Warriors clad all over in Armour Cap-a-pe. Both Horse and Foot-Soldiers are mentioned under this Appellation by *Livy* and other Historians.

“ his Resentment. For we first assaulted him,
 “ in violation of the League; and in the midst
 “ of Peace blew up an unexpected War. Now
 “ therefore the whole Empire of the *Romans*
 “ depends on your Bravery and Faith alone.
 “ For ’tis not now a trivial Dispute, about the
 “ Boundaries of Lands, or the Currents of Ri-
 “ vers: Our All is at stake; we fight against
 “ a great King, incensed at the Death of his
 “ Children and Relations, cut off, as he thinks,
 “ by Injustice and Perjury. Let us therefore
 “ take our Arms, and dispose ourselves, like
 “ *Romans*, in good Order of Battle. For in
 “ this respect, the tumultuous Croud of raw
 “ irregular Barbarians, fitted only for a mo-
 “ mentary Conflict, will (’tis very likely) be
 “ their own Impediment: On the contrary,
 “ your good Order and Discipline, assisted with
 “ your great Experience in War, will not fail
 “ to effect your own Safety and their Destruc-
 “ tion. With this good Hope then let us en-
 “ gage, behaving as *Romans* always ought, and
 “ ever did. For so doing, you will repulse the
 “ Barbarians; and having acquired great and
 “ lasting Glory, you will shew it to the *Ro-*
 “ *mans* and all Mankind; you will raise the
 “ Credit of your former Victory; and Men
 “ must then believe, that you stole not the Ad-
 “ vantage by Fraud and Treachery, but con-
 “ quered your Enemies by the Force of Arms
 “ and superior Prowess.”

His Speech ended, when the Soldiers saw the The Battle
 pressing Necessity of the Time, they drew up of the Ro-
 in Order, and remained under Arms. At the *mans* and
 Rising of the Sun, *Artabanus* appear’d, at the *Parthians*.
 Head of an Army almost innumerable. The

Barbarians, after saluting the *Sun*, according to their accustomed manner, and raising a horrible Noise confused with the Clang of Armour and the Shouts of the Multitude, rode in furiously upon the Enemy, pouring whole Volleys of Arrows before them: But the *Romans*, being drawn up in regular and firm Order, with their own Cavalry and the Moors disposed in each Wing, the Center thick and well form'd, and the Vacancies fill'd up with the light-arm'd Troops, who were capable of making the most active Excursions, sustain'd the Charge, and made a vigorous Resistance. The Barbarians, with their Showers of Arrows, and the long Spears of the Cuirassiers pushing from the Camels and Horses, greatly annoyed their Enemies at a distance: On the other hand, the *Romans* had much the Advantage of those they could engage in close Fight. But when the Enemy's Cavalry, much superior in Number, and the huge multitude of Camels overbore their Ranks; they made a feint Retreat, and threw down Caltrops, and several other spiky Machines made of Iron, with sharp-pointed Rowels; which, being cover'd with Sand, and not seen by the Cavalry and Camel-eers, did them great Damage. For the Horses trampling on the Spikes, and especially the Camels, which are by Nature very tender-hoof'd Creatures, stumbled and halted with the Wounds, and flung their Riders: And the Barbarians beyond the *Tigris*, as long as they fight on Camels or Horses, are very vigorous; but when they dismount or fall off, are easily taken, not being able to support a close Engagement. Nor are they very expeditious either in Flight, or Pursuit (when it happens) because their long
loose

loose Garments hanging down to their Ancles are a great Impediment. The Action therefore lasted, the first and the second Day, from Morning till Evening, and the Night only interrupted the Battle; when both Parties returned to their Camps as Victors.

The third Day they came into the Plain; The Battle when the Barbarians, as they had much the Advantage in Number, endeavoured to environ the *Romans*, and attack them in Front and Rear. But the *Romans* form'd no more in deep Phalanx, but extending their Front, prevented the Enemy's Design of out-flanking them. Such Numbers fell on both Sides, that the Plain was filled with the Carcases of Men and Beasts, and the Dead lay piled in vast Heaps, especially the Camels, which tumbled one upon another. This greatly impeded the Action; for neither Party could so much as discern their Foe, for the great and almost unpassable Hills of accumulated dead Bodies, which rose like a Mound betwixt them. As therefore it was impracticable to return to the Charge, each Army drew off again, and retired to their Camp.

But *Macrinus* knew well enough, *Artabanus* would not engage with such Fury, nor persist so obstinately, were it not that he thought he was fighting against *Antoninus*. For the Barbarians seldom rally; but are easily tired, and soon desist, if they cannot carry their Point at the first Onset. On the contrary, they now persevered, and seemed determined to renew the Battle, as soon as they had carried off and burnt their Dead; not knowing that he, who had been the Cause of all this Enmity, was now no more. He therefore sends Legates to the *Parthian*, with

Advice, “ That the Emperor who had broken
 “ the Treaty, and violated the Oaths, was now
 “ dead, and had suffered the just Reward of his
 “ Perfidy; That the *Romans*, in whose Power was
 “ the Empire, had committed the Government
 “ into his Hands; That he neither approved of
 “ the Measures had been taken, and was ready
 “ to deliver up all the surviving Captives, and
 “ make Restitution for what Money and other
 “ valuable Effects had been unjustly seized; to
 “ receive him as an Ally, instead of an Enemy,
 “ and to ratify the Treaty with the most sacred
 “ Oaths and Libations.”

Artabanus, having read the Letter, and being informed by the Legates, that *Antoninus* was slain, judging he had suffered sufficient Punishment for his Perjury, by the Murther’s being returned upon his own Head ^x, and pleased with having all the Captives and Money restored without more Blood, strikes a League with *Macrinus*, and returns home.

The *Roman* removed his Quarters from *Mesopotamia*, and march’d the Army to *Antioch*.

^x The Original (in all the Editions I have seen) is Τετέλειται αὐτῷ ΤΕΤΡΥΧΩΜΕΝΟΥ; which *Politian*, and the other Editors after him have omitted in their *Latin* Translations, as a Passage too obscure to be understood. *Henry Stevens*, in particular, suspects it to be corrupt or spurious, and so leaves it untranslating. But had that learned Editor consider’d, that there is only a small Error of the Librarian in writing τετελῆχωμένε, instead of τετελῆσχωμένε, the Sense would have then plainly appeared to him to be (agreeably to what I have render’d it) that the Death he so unjustly inflicted upon others, was, as it were, by the *Rotation* of Fortune wheel’d back on himself.

HERODIAN.

BOOK V.

AFTER what manner *Antoninus* reign'd, A.D. 218. the Conspiracy form'd against his Life, how he was slain, and by whom succeeded, has been related in the Book before this. *Macrinus*, after his Arrival at *Antioch*, writes a Letter to the *Roman* People and Senate to this purport.

“ As you are no Strangers to the whole Te- *Macrinus's*
 “ nor of my past Life; and my natural Incl- Letter to
 “ nation to Lenity and Goodness, sufficiently the *Roman*
 “ manifested in my Discharge of that high Of- People
 “ fice with which I was lately vested; an Office and Se-
 “ little inferior in Power to the Imperial Sove-
 “ reignty; since the Emperor himself entrusts
 “ his Safety to the Faith of the Prefects of the
 “ Camps; I think it superfluous to detain you
 “ with a multitude of Words. For you well
 “ know I always disapproved the late Emperor's
 “ Measures, and have often, for your Sakes,
 “ expos'd my Life to manifest Hazards, while
 “ he, ever prone to credit the most ill-grounded
 “ Calumnies, was perpetually venting his Fury
 “ against you. Hence it was, that he used
 “ publicly to revile me; and blame, in the most
 “ oppro-

“ opprobrious Terms, my moderate and hu-
“ mane Disposition towards those who were
“ under my Command, depreciating it with the
“ ignominious Names of Indolence and Effemi-
“ nacy. For, delighting in Flattery, he thought
“ those his affectionate and faithful Friends, who
“ prompted him to Cruelty, and indulged the
“ natural Propensity of his Spirit, awaking his
“ Anger by malicious Slanders. On the other
“ hand, I, from the Beginning, was always a
“ Lover of Meekness and Moderation. We
“ have therefore finish’d an important War with
“ the *Parthian*, where the whole *Roman* Em-
“ pire was at stake : In which we behaved our-
“ selves like Men ; nor were we worsted by our
“ Enemies in the Field ; but made an honour-
“ able Peace with a great Monarch at the Head
“ of a numerous and puissant Army ; and have
“ now for a faithful Ally, him who before was
“ a very formidable Enemy. My Administra-
“ tion shall be without Blood ; all under me
“ shall live free and secure ; and the Govern-
“ ment shall appear more an Aristocracy than
“ a Monarchy. Nor let any contemptuously call
“ it a Fault of Fortune that has rais’d me to
“ this high Honour, from no nobler a Condi-
“ tion than the Equestrian Order : For where
“ is the Advantage of Nobility, unless accom-
“ panied with Goodness and Humanity ? The
“ Gifts of Fortune are often conferred on the
“ Undeserving ; but the Virtues of the Mind
“ give to every Man his proper Glory. Great-
“ ness of Birth, Riches, and every thing of this
“ sort that Mankind call Happiness, can merit
“ no just Praise ; because they are bestowed on
“ us by other Persons : But to succede by Cle-
“ mency

“ mency and Goodness, as it excites Admira-
“ tion, so it likewise procures Esteem and Com-
“ mendation. What Profit did you receive
“ from the Nobility of *Commodus*? Or how
“ were, you the happier from *Antoninus* succeed-
“ ing his Father in the Empire? Such Men, as
“ it were demand the Empire by an Hereditary
“ Right; and commonly abuse and disgrace it
“ as a private Patrimony: But they who receive
“ it as your Gift are bound in a Bond of ever-
“ lasting Gratitude; and perpetually endeavour
“ to repay their Kindness, who are beforehand
“ with them in the Obligation. Besides, the
“ illustrious Descent of Patrician Sovereigns
“ serves to encourage them in Pride, and Con-
“ tempt of their Subjects; whom they look
“ down on, as much their Inferiors: But they
“ who are raised to this Dignity from a mode-
“ rate Power, regard it as a Reward for their
“ Labours, and render their wonted Reverence
“ and Honour to those who formerly were their
“ Superiors. For my part, it is my Design to
“ do nothing without your Authority; but to
“ make use of your Assistance and Counsel in
“ the Administration of Affairs: And you shall
“ live in the Security and Liberty, of which
“ you have been deprived by those high-born
“ Emperors; and which *Marcus* first, and af-
“ ter him *Pertinax*, endeavoured to restore;
“ who both came from being wrapt in private
“ Swaddling-bands, to be array’d in the Impe-
“ rial Purple. And it is certainly better, for a
“ Man to give the first Lustre to his Family,
“ and ennoble those who shall come after him;
“ than to arrogate to himself the Glory of his
“ Proge-

“ Progenitors, and stain their Nobility by his
 “ flagitious Morals.”

Behaviour
 of *Macri-*
mus.

This Letter being read, the Senate express'd their Approbation in loud Acclaims, and voted him all the *Augustan* Honours; rejoicing greatly, not so much that *Macrinus* had succeeded, as that *Antoninus* was taken off; an Event they look'd upon so fortunate, that they celebrated it with public Feasts and mutual Congratulations. For every one (and especially they of superior Authority or Office) esteemed this happy Turn as a Removal of the impending Sword from his Neck. The Informers, and Slaves who had accused their Masters, were soon committed to the Gibbet; and all the City, and indeed almost the whole *Roman* Empire were rid of these mischievous Creatures; Part of whom were executed, Part driven into Exile; and if some few hid and escaped Punishment, Fear hinder'd them from being any more troublesome: So that the *Romans* enjoyed an uninterrupted Security; and there appear'd a certain Resemblance of Liberty during that one Year *Macrinus* reigned. In this only he was to be blamed, that he did not immediately dismiss the Army, and send every one to his own Home, and hasten himself to *Rome*, that longed for his Presence, all her Citizens continually calling aloud on his Name. Instead of which, he spent his Time at *Antioch*, nourishing his Beard, and walking with an easy creeping Pace; being exceeding slow and sparing in his Answers to those who came to him; and speaking in so low a Voice, that very often he could not be heard. In this he affected the philosophical Behaviour of *Marcus*; but forgot to imitate

imitate him in the rest of his Life. For he gave into Voluptuousness more and more every Day, amusing himself with the Diversions made by Dancers, Songsters, Musicians, and Stage-Players; quite careless about the Administration of Public Affairs. He wore Clasps and Belts finely embellished with Diamonds set in Gold: Which kind of Luxury is not much admired by the *Roman* Soldiers; who look upon it as rather suiting Barbarians and Beaux; and therefore could by no means be reconciled to it; but were soon disgusted at his manner of Living, too effeminate for a Man of military Character. They reflected on *Antoninus's* past Life; and setting his active Soldier-like Behaviour in Contrast with *Macrinus's* Delicacy, they despised the latter, in comparison of the former. What added still to their Indignation was, that, while they lay encamped in a foreign Country, were sometimes very scanty of the Necessaries of Life, and could not be permitted to return home, in a Time, as they thought, of universal Peace, they saw *Macrinus* wantoning in Delicacies, and solacing himself in all kinds of Luxury. Therefore shaking off the Reins of Government, they began to defame him behind his Back; and wish'd for an Excuse, tho' ever so trivial, to rid themselves of the troublesome Burden. And Fate had decreed, that *Macrinus* was to reign in Pleasure but one Year, and then to lose both Life and Empire; Fortune soon shewing the Soldiers a small and weak, but, as they thought, a colourable Reason, for executing what they so earnestly desired.

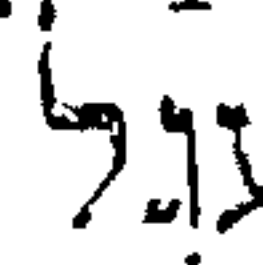
There

A.D.219. There was a *Phœnician* Woman, named *Mæsa*, of *Emesus* a City of *Phœnicia*; who was Sister to *Julia* the Wife of *Severus* and *Antoninus's* Mother; during whose Life *Mæsa* had lived many Years at Court in the Reigns of *Severus* and *Antoninus*; but, after her Sister's Death, and the Assassination of *Antoninus*, had removed, by *Macrinus's* Command, with all her Effects, in order to pass the Remainder of her Life in her own Country. She was enormously rich, having lived many Years under the Influence and Protection of Imperial Power; and being now grown old, resided at her native Home. This Woman had two Daughters, the elder named *Soamis*, the younger *Mammæa*; the former of whom had a Son called *Bassianus*, the latter *Alexianus*, both educated under their Mothers, and Grandmother. *Bassianus* was about fourteen years old; but *Alexianus* was not yet advanced above the tenth year. They were both Priests of the Sun; which Deity the Natives worship with singular Devotion, calling him, in the *Phœnician* Language, *Helæagabalus*^a. A most mag-

^a Authors are strangely divided about the right Name of this *Syrian* God, and his young Priest, afterwards Emperor of *Rome*. What *Herodian* here calls *Helæagabalus*, others write *Alagabalus*, *Elagabalus*, *Helæogabalus*, *Helioagabalus*, and the Emperor is often call'd in short, *Gabalus*. Besides this Variety of Names, our learned *Selden*, in his Treatise *De Diis Syris*, *Syntagma* ii. has another of his own Conjecture, differing from all the former; and will have the right Term to be *Agalabelus*, from *𐤀𐤂𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏* *Ahgal-Baal*, the round Lord. But I am afraid this Criticism is a little too strain'd; and seems rather making than finding the Etymon. For the several Names above mentioned, tho' there appears such a Diversity in the Letters which compose them, may all be born, and well enough accounted for, the Difference

nificent Temple is built to him, splendidly adorn'd with Silver, Gold, and Brilliant Stones of great Value. Nor is he only worshipped by the Inhabitants of the Country, but all the neigh-

ference between them being only in their Vowels ; which every one, who has the least Acquaintance with the Oriental Languages, knows to be far less considerable than the Consonants. These latter are the radical fundamental Characters, which distinguish between Word and Word ; whereas the former are not dignified with the Title of *Letters*, being only *Marks* or *Points* to direct the Pronunciation ; and most of them are so minute, that no great Stress can be laid on them, inasmuch as they are often put one for another by the Eastern Writers themselves, consequently are more liable to be varied and confounded by *European* Authors. This appears incontestably plain, not only from numberless Instances in the Translation of the Old Testament, supposed to be done by the *Septuaginta* ; but also from all the Names and Epithets of Gods, Men, Countries, Cities, &c. introduced from the *Asiatic* into the *European* Tongues. And tho' there is often great Confusion in the Consonants of Words derived from the Oriental Languages, which, passing through so many Nations and Ages, necessarily contracted the Corruption of their different Idioms ; yet this can hardly be the Case with the Word under Consideration ; since 'tis more than probable, that this young Priest, coming immediately from his own Country, knew the right Name of his God too well to be mistaken : And accordingly, in the Inscriptions on the Altars and Medals still extant, 'tis always found, ALAGABALVS, or ELAGABALVS.

Nor indeed does Mr. *Selden's* Etymology seem to be very accurate or instructive ; much less does it well correspond to the Description given us by *Herodian*. For what is this *Agalabalus*, or *Round Lord*. The Word  *Abgol*, commonly signifies *superficially-round*, or *circular*, as a Wheel, Ring, or Brim of a Vessel ; in which Sense we find it in 1 *Kings* vii. 23. where the Circumference of *Solomon's* molten Sea is described ; which was exactly round ; tho' the *Ratio* of the Diameter to the Periphery is very incorrect in the Text, viz. as 1 to 3, agreeable enough, perhaps, to the Learning of the *Jews* in those Times, and the little Skill the Historian had in Geometrical Proportions.

bouring Viceroys and Barbarian Kings fend him every Year very superb Offerings, and Presents of excessive Value. But he has no Image made by Hands, erected as among the *Greeks* and *Ro-*

tions. But should we grant, that *ܠܕܝܐ* signifies, in the *Syriac* Dialect, *orbicularly* or *spherically* round, consequently is a proper Epithet for *the Sun*; still it answers not the Form of this Image; which, *Herodian* tells us, was *conical*; and that the Resemblance it bore to the Sun, consisted not so much in it's Figure, as in the little Protuberances projecting from it's Plane, which the *Syrians* fancied to represent the Sun; as if these Projections typified the Emanations of Light diffused from that glorious Luminary. And a conical, or *pyramidical*, Form was always taken by the Ancients as a Symbol or Emblem of Heat or Fire; but not as an Image of the Sun's Figure; which the Ancients, as well as we, thought spherical. Whence the *Epicurean* in *Cicero*, *De Nat. Deor.* lib. i. contemptuously calls him, *Velubilem Deum, a revolving God*.

The Etymon then of this *Syrian* God's Name must certainly be *ܠܕܝܐ-ܠܐܠܗ* *El-gabal*, in the *Roman* Idiom *Elagabalus*, or (which is much the same) *Alagabalus*; in the *Greek* *Ἡλιογάβαλος*, *Heliogabalos*: For the *Greek* Name of the Sun, *Ἡλιος*, *Helios*, manifestly comes from the *Hebrew* *ܠܕܝܐ* *Elah*, God. This Etymon is espoused by the learned *Salmasius*; who says, the *Syrians* call'd this Deity *ܠܕܝܐ-ܠܐܠܗ* *Alagabal*, or *God of a Mountain*. In which Interpretation, I believe, the learned Critic is mistaken: For the strict Signification of *ܠܕܝܐ* *Gebul*, is not a *Mountain*, but a *Bound* or *Limit*. And tho' it may figuratively be put for a *Mountain*, because the Extents of Countries among the Ancients were commonly bounded by Mountains (which is the Reason the *Greeks* likewise express'd a *Mountain* and a *Bound* by the same Letters) yet the literal Acceptation of *ܠܕܝܐ* *Gabal*, seems much the best to denote the Power of this God; who was call'd *ܠܕܝܐ-ܠܐܠܗ* *Alagabal*, or *God of Bounds*, a very proper Appellation for the Sun; who by his diurnal and annual Revolutions not only bounds the Days, Years, &c. but is the Source of all those Geographical Divisions of the Earth into East, West, North, South, &c. according to his various Risings, Settings, and Declinations. Hence too the *Greeks* call the Limits or utmost Extent of our Sight

mans, bearing the Figure or Resemblance of the God ; but instead of this there is a huge Stone, of a circular Base, and gradually lessening up-

on the Globe *Ὠρίζων*, *Horizon*, or *Boundary*, in which the Sun always makes his first and last Appearance. In this Sense the simple Word *Gabalus* may well enough be put for the Name of this young Priest. Nor can I see how the great *Scaliger* is so much to blame, as Mr. *Selden* would make him, for taking the Words, *Iste Gabalus*, *This Gabalus*, in the Epigram cited by *Capitolinus* (in *Maccrino*) to allude to the Emperor *Heliogabalus*. For tho' *Gabalus* signifies a *Cross* or *Gibbet*, yet it evidently is deduced from גַּבַּל *Gabal*, he *bounded*; because Malefactors were formerly hung on Gibbets erected at the *Boundaries* or *Limits* of certain Districts; as every one who is conversant in the Writings of the Ancients sufficiently knows. And that the *Limits* of Lands were distinguish'd by huge Stones of a pyramidical Figure, like this Idol, appears from that Passage in *Homer*, *Iliad*. xii. v 446; which *Virgil* has imitated, *Æneid*. xii. v 896, &c.

Spartian's Doubt, whether this Deity was the *Jupiter* (as he phrases it) or the *Sun* of the *Syrians*, is trivial, the Difference being inconsiderable, or rather none at all. For it was common among all Nations to call their principal Deity, *The God*, or *The Goddess*, κατ' ἐξοχήν, by way of *Eminence*. The other Titles given him, were to express their Awe of his Power, or the several Benefits received from his Bounty: And these were different in different Countries. Every one knows, that *Apollo*, or the *Sun*, was often call'd emphatically, *The God of Heaven*, by the *Greeks* themselves, and confounded with their *Zeus*, or *Jupiter*. In the Theology of the Heathen, the Sun was often the principal Deity; and some of them owned no other God: An Instance of which we have in *Herodotus*, lib. i. οὐρανὸν δὲ μὲνόν· ἀνὲρ αἰῶνος αὖ, τῷ θεῷ οὐρανὸν ἱππας. *They [the Magogites] worship but One God, the Sun; to whom they sacrifice Horses.* The *Syrians* therefore call'd him *Alagabel*, or the *Power that sets Bounds to Heaven and Earth*. And it seems to be in allusion to these Idols, that the Psalmist says to his God; *To thee [is] the Day, to thee the Night Thou hast fitted the Luminary and the Sun. Thou hast fixed the גַּבּוּלֹת GEBULOTH, BOUNDS of the Earth. Thou hast fashioned the Summer, and the Winter; Psal. lxxiv. 16, 17.*

wards, till it ends in a sharp Top, like a Cone. Its Colour is black : And there is a sacred Tradition, that it fell from *Jupiter*. There are certain Eminences or Protuberances in the Stone, representing several Forms ; which, when they look on, they persuade themselves, is the genuine Image of the Sun, made without Hands. To this God then *Bassianus* was *High-Priest* (for being the elder Brother, the holy Function was principally perform'd by him) appearing in a Barbarian Habit. His Gown was purple, wrought with Gold ; it had long Sleeves, was girded with a Sash, and hung down to his Heels ; his Feet and Legs were covered with embroidered Purple of the same sort, quite from his Nails to his Thighs. On his Head he wore a florid Crown, sparkling with Diamonds and precious Stones of various Colours. Besides, he was in the Bloom of his Youth, and the handsomest of all the young Men of his Age. All these Advantages uniting, the Beauty of his Person, the Flower of his Youth, and the Finery of his Dress, he might very well be likened to the beautiful Images of the God *Bacchus*.

Mæsa persuades the Soldiers to a Rebellion.

It happened, while he was performing Divine Service, and dancing in Chorus, after the Barbarian Custom, round the Altar, to the Sounds of Flutes, Pipes, and all sorts of Instruments, that, among others, the *Roman* Soldiers stood gazing on him with uncommon Curiosity, knowing him to be of the Imperial Blood, and the Splendor and Beauty of his Person attracting the Eyes of all the Spectators. For at that Time the whole Army that defended *Phœnicia* was encamped in the Neighbourhood of that City : Though afterwards they removed, as we shall shew

shew in its Place. The Soldiers therefore daily resorted to the City, and frequented the Temple to hear Divine Service; at which they took great Pleasure to look at the young Priest, with some of their Fellow-Soldiers, who had fled thither from *Rome*, and were Attendants of *Mæsa*. She, as they stood admiring the Boy, tells them (whether true or false, is uncertain) that however he might be thought to be another Man's Offspring, he was in reality the Natural Son of *Antoninus*; who had deflowered her Daughters, when they were very young and fair, while she resided at Court with her Sister. This Story the Soldiers related to their Comrades; and in a short time the Report spread through the whole Army; who were told at the same time, that *Mæsa* had immense Heaps of Money, which she was ready to distribute among the Soldiers, provided they would declare in favour of her Family, and bring about the Restoration.

The Soldiery presently came into the Proposal, and promised, that if she would come with her Family secretly by Night to the Camp, they would open the Gates, receive all that belong'd to her, and declare *Bassianus* Emperor and Son of *Antoninus*. The old Lady readily accepted the Offer, resolving to hazard every thing, rather than live in a private abject Condition: And having left the City secretly in the Night, accompanied with her Daughters and Grandsons, and escorted by the Deferters, she came to the Camp, and was easily admitted. Immediately on their Entrance, the Soldiery saluted the Boy by the Name of *Antoninus*, clothed him in a purple Robe, and protected him within the

She is received, with her Family, into the Camp.

Works. Then, having brought in their Children and Wives, and all they had in the neighbouring Fields and Villages, together with a sufficient Quantity of Provisions, they shut the Gates, and got every thing ready to sustain a Siege, in case the Camp should be invested.

Macrinus sends *Julian* against the Rebels. *Macrinus* was loitering at *Antioch*, when the News was brought him; the Fame of which soon reach'd the other Camps; that a Son of *Antoninus* was found, and that *Julia's* Sister was distributing large Sums of Money to the Soldiers. All this was received and credited, and soon suspended the Minds of the Hearers; who, eager enough before for a Revolution, through their Hatred to *Macrinus*, were now more incited, by Respect to the Memory of *Antoninus*, and (what was the strongest Motive of all) the Hopes of sharing in *Mæsa's* Largeesses: So that great Numbers deserted, and fled over to the new *Antonine*. But *Macrinus*, making light of the whole as a puerile insignificant Affair, and keeping up his wonted Alertness, continues himself at home, and only sends one of his Prefects, with a sufficient Body (as he supposed) to reduce the Rebels.

Julian is beheaded, and the Soldiers declare for *Antonine*. *Julian* (for that was the Prefect's Name) put his Corps under Motion, and advanced to the Works. As he made his Approaches, the Besieged mounted the Turrets and Battlements, held up the Boy to the Soldiers without, and saluted him Son of *Antoninus*; at the same time shewing them Bags of Money, a very powerful Incentive to Treason. The Soldiers, believing him to be *Antoninus's* Son, and exactly like his Father (for they persuaded their Eyes to see the Resemblance) without longer Hesitation, laid hold

hold on *Julian*, cut off his Head, and sent it back to *Macrinus*; while they unanimously enter'd the Camp, the Gates being opened for their Reception. The Army, thus reinforced, was sufficient not only to stand a Siege, but to sally out and give the Enemy regular Battle. Besides, their Power increased more and more by the Accession of Deserters; who, tho' they arrived in small Parties, yet coming constantly every Day, very considerably augmented their Number.

The News of this made *Macrinus* collect his whole Army, and march immediately, in order to besiege the Rebels. But *Antonine* led forth his Forces; who scorn'd now to wait till they were besieged; but with great Alacrity and Courage, came out to meet *Macrinus*, and engage with him in the open Field. The two Armies joined Battle in the Confines of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. *Antonine's* Party charged with great Spirit and Vigour, well knowing the fatal Consequences of a Defeat, and what Punishment they must expect for their Rebellion: On the contrary, *Macrinus's* Soldiers were very slow and languid, and great Numbers went over to the Enemy in the Action. Which *Macrinus* seeing, and fearing lest, being stript of his Power and taken Captive, he should be treated with Contumely; at the close of the Day, while the Battle still lasted, he throws off his Imperial Robe, and every other Symbol of Dignity, and, attended only by a few Centurions whom he thought most faithful to him, secretly makes his Escape. He had shaved off his Beard, that he might not be known, and assumed the Habit of a Traveller; in which Disguise, with his

Macrinus
is con-
quer'd,
and runs
away.

Head always cover'd; he fled Day and Night, with so much Celerity, that he even out-stripp'd the Fame of his ill Fortune. For the Officers hurried along their Carriages with great Expedition, as if *Macrinus* was still Emperor, and had sent them upon some momentous Errand.

In the mean time both Armies continued fighting. On the Side of *Macrinus*, only the Body-Guards and Spear-Men (whom they call *Pretorians*) made a brave Resistance; and, being large-sized and chosen Men, stood the Force of the whole Army; while all the rest fought for *Antonine*. But when, after a long and obstinate Dispute, neither *Macrinus* himself, nor any Robe or Badge of the Imperial Dignity appeared in the Field, they of his Party were at a loss what to think of it; whether he was buried under the Heaps of Slain, or had deserted his own Cause and fled. Nor were they less undetermin'd what Measures to take: For they neither chose to fight for a Person that was no where to be found; and, on the other hand, were very loth to surrender themselves as Prisoners of War at the Discretion of the Enemy.

Antonine
universal-
ly declar-
ed Empe-
ror.

But when *Antonine* was informed by the Deserters that *Macrinus* had fled, he sent Heralds to acquaint them, that they were but lavishing away their Blood to no purpose in the Cause of a cowardly Fugitive; to offer a general Amnesty, to be ratified with the most sacred Oaths; and to promise they should be his Body-Guards. This was accepted; and they all came over to *Antonine*; upon which, Parties were immediately dispatch'd to pursue *Macrinus*, who by this time was a great way off: But falling dangerously sick at *Chalcedon*, a City of *Bithynia*, through

through the Fatigue of his hard travelling Night *Macrinus* and Day without Intermission, he was found by ^{kill'd.} his Pursuers in a little suburban Village, where he had hid himself, and his Head taken from his Body.

It is generally reported he was hastening to *Rome*, in Confidence of the good Affections of the People; but passing for *Europe* over the Straits of the *Propontis*, and having almost reached *Byzantium*, a sudden adverse Wind arose, and drove him back to meet his Punishment. So near was *Macrinus* from escaping his Pursuers; and so ignominious a Death was his Lot, while he was endeavouring to return to *Rome*, and to do that last, which was the first Step he should in Prudence have taken: But he unhappily fell short both in Counsel and Fortune. This End met *Macrinus*; and his Son *Diadumenian*, whom he had made *Cæsar*, shared the Fate of his unfortunate Father.

After the whole Army had gone over to *Antonine*, and saluted him Emperor, having received the Government, and settled every thing in the East that required immediate Regulation, he continued some little time under the Tuition of his Grandmother and the Friends he had with him in those Parts (for himself was young in Years, and unexperienced both in Business and Learning) and then makes ready for an Expedition to *Rome*, at the urgent Persuasion of *Mæsa*; who made all possible Haste to return to the *Roman* Court, where she had so long resided. But when the Senate and People heard what was done, they received the News with great Disgust: Nevertheless, they were obliged

to submit to the Army's Choice; but condemn'd a thousand times the Indolence and Supineness of *Macrinus*; and said, the Evil that had befallen him was imputable to no other Person but himself.

Antonine
performs
the Cere-
monies to
his Coun-
try-God.

Antonine set sail from *Syria*, and arrived at *Nicomedia*; where he wintered, as the Season of the Year demanded. He presently fell to his fanatic Revels, executing his sacerdotal Function, in which he was bred, to his Country-God, with all its fantastic Forms and Gesticulations. He wore very costly Dresses of Purple wrought with Gold, with the richest Collars about his Neck, and Bracelets on his Arms; and a Crown of Gold, set with precious Stones of various Colours, surrounded his Head in form of a Turban. Thus his Habit was something between the long sacred Stole of the *Phœnicians*, and the soft effeminate Finery of the *Medes*. *Roman* or *Græcian* Garments he utterly abominated, saying they were made of Wool, the meanest of Materials. Nothing pleased his Fancy but the finest silken Manufactures of the *Syrian* Looms; in which he appear'd in public celebrating the Orgies of his God, with the Sounds of Pipes and Tabors. *Mæsa* was greatly displeased at these Proceedings, and endeavoured, all she could, to persuade him by Intreaties to change his Habit, and take a *Roman* Robe; intimating, that as he was soon to go to the City and enter the Senate-house, it might give great Offence to the Spectators, to see him in a foreign Dress entirely Barbaric, to which they were unaccustomed; and look'd upon such fine Ornaments as becoming Women better than Men. But he despised the Words of the old Woman; nor

would

would hearken to any other Person: For he let none come near him but such as were of the same Principles with himself, and a Sett of servile Flatterers to sooth him in his Folly. And being willing to make the Sight of the Habit familiar to the *Roman* Senate and People, and to try, while absent, how they would bear it, he had a large Picture drawn of himself at full Length, exactly representing him in the public Execution of his Priest-Office: And in the same Piece was the Figure of his Country-God, whose Ceremonies he was performing. This Painting he sent to *Rome*, with Orders to put it up in the middle of the Senate-house, in a very high Place, directly over the Statue of *Victory*; that at the meeting of the Senate, every Member might burn Incense and make Libations of Wine to the Picture. He likewise pass'd an Edict, that all the *Roman* Magistrates, and they who officiated at public Sacrifices, should, before all the Deities they had occasion to mention in Divine-Service, pay the first Respect to the God *Helæagabalus*.

When he came to *Rome*, in the Habit we A.D. 220. have before described, the Sight did not much He comes surprize the *Romans*, because they were pre- to *Rome*, pared for it by the Picture. The usual Con- and per- giaries being distributed to the People for his same C forms the Accession to the Imperial Throne; he publish'd remon- a great Variety of magnificent and sumptuous Shows: And having built a grand and beautiful Temple to his God, with a great Number of Altars erected round about it, he repaired thither every Morning, and sacrificed whole Hecatombs of Bulls, and an infinite Number of Sheep; loading all the Altars with Heaps of
aro-

aromatic Odours of every kind, and pouring out before their Bases Firkins of the oldest and richest Wines, till the Streams of Blood mingled with Wine ran all about the Temple. At the same time he led his Choruses round the Altars, to the Sounds of all sorts of musical Instruments; and Women of his own Country danced with him in Circles about the Altars, with Cymbals or Tabors in their Hands; while the whole Senatorian and Equestrian Orders stood in a Ring, resembling the Audience of a Theatre. The Entrails of the Sacrifices, and the spicy Oblations, were carried in golden Vessels, not by Servants, or Men of mean Condition; but the Prefects of the Camps and other great Officers bore them on their Heads, and march'd in solemn State, girded in Tunics reaching down to their Ancles, with long Sleeves, after the *Phœnician* Fashion, and bearing one Purple in the middle^b. Their Shoes were made of Linen, such as the Prophets in those Countries wear: And he thought he highly honoured every one whom he made Partaker in these religious Ceremonies.

He mar-
ries, and
divorces
his Wife.

But tho' he seemed to be perpetually taken up, in leading Choruses, and officiating at holy Rites; yet he found Time to put to death great Numbers of illustrious and wealthy Persons, who were accused to him as disliking and deriding his Method of Life. He married a Lady of one of the noblest Families among the *Romans*; whom he honoured with the Title

^b By *one Purple* here must be understood one Stripe of Purple in the middle of the Garment, call'd by the *Greeks* Μεσσηνίον, *Middle-Purple*. But of the *Laticlavian Tunic* of the *Romans*, see the Note^c, p. 142.

of *Augusta*; but not long after, he divorced her, and ordered her to be degraded of her Honours, and to pass the rest of her Life as a private Person. After her (that he might seem to do something at least like a Man) he pretended to fall in love. The Object of his Passion was one of the *Roman Vestals*; and tho' her sacred Order enjoined inviolate Chastity, and to continue a Virgin to the End of Life; having forced her from the Temple of the Goddesses, and the holy Conclave of Virgins, he kept her as a Wife; and wrote a consolatory Letter to the Senate, who were much offended at this Sacrilege and Sin; in which he observed to them, that his Fault, if it might be so call'd, was the Effect of human Passion; for that he was desperately in love with the Girl; and that the Marriage of a Priestess to a Priest was very suitable, and reflected Reverence on the sacred Function. Notwithstanding all this, he soon put her away also, and married a third Wife, said to be one of the Relations of *Commodus*.

He not only thus sported and trifled with human Matrimony, but he must likewise find out a Wife for his God; and accordingly sent for the sacred Image of *Pallas*, which the *Romans* worship kept in secret from human Eyes, and had it brought into his own Bed-chamber. Thus he dared to displace the *Palladium*, that had never been moved since the Time it came from *Ilium*, except when the Temple was destroyed by Fire, and convey the Goddess into the Imperial Palace, in order to celebrate her Nuptials with his God. But, soon after, he said, his God did not like a warlike Wife clad all in Armour; and therefore he commanded,

to

to fetch from *Carthage* the Image of *Urania*; which the *Carthaginians*, and all the Inhabitants of *Libya*, worship with superlative Devotion. For, they say, it was first erected by *Dido* the *Phœnician*, when she built ancient *Carthage* on the Ground she compass'd with an Ox's Hide cut into Thongs. This Goddess the *Libyans* call *Urania*^c; but the *Phœnicians* will have her to be the *Moon*, and give her the Title of *Astroärche*^d. *Antonine* therefore sent for the Image, together with all the Gold in the

^{c d} If either of these Words be put by our Author for the *Libyan*, or the *Phœnician*, Name of this Goddess, nothing can be more inaccurate or absurd. And yet this piece of Vanity is very common among the *Greek* Writers; who often fetch their Originations of the Names of Gods, Men, Countries, &c. from a *Greek* Etymon, as if all the Nations in the World, tho' ever so ancient or remote, talk'd *Greek*. *Urania*, *Heavenly*, and *Astroärche*, *Queen of the Stars*, are *Greek* Appellations apposite enough to express the Idea the *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians* had of the State and Power of this Goddess. But they have no more Analogy to the Names given to the Deity by these respective Nations, than what arises from the Relation all the *European* Languages bear to the *Asiatic*; which, it must be own'd, is not inconsiderable in many Words even of our own and other modern Tongues; as is visible enough to every one that has the least Skill in Oriental Learning. Hence it was, that those Ancients who understood no more than the *Greek* and *Roman* Languages seldom went further back to investigate the Source of those Terms they endeavour'd to explain. Thus the Name of the great God or Goddess of the *Asiatic* and *African* Nations, call'd in the Sacred Writing 𐤁𐤏𐤃 *Baal*, by other *Bal*, *Bala*, *Bcl*, *Belemus*, *Belin*, *Belis*, &c. &c. has by some *Greek* Critics been derived from βέλος, *Belos*, a *Dart*, to express (say they) the Swiftnefs of his Thunder, or the Sharpnefs of the Rays of Light *darted* from the *Sun*; to whom *Homer* and *Hesiod* give the Epithet ἑκτόλος, *Fardarting*. Thus too the Stoic Philosopher in *Tully*, *De Nat. Deor.* lib. ii. derives *Jupiter* from *Juvans pater*, *The helping Father*; which would not seem so absurd in the Name

of

Place, saying, the *Sun* and the *Moon* would be a very agreeable Match : And at the same

of a *Latin* Deity, were it not that the ancient *Romans* call'd him *Dijovis*, *Vjovis*, *Jovispiter*, and *Jovis*, which manifestly is corrupted from the sacred Name יהוה *Jehovah*. How far *Juvo*, *I help*, may proceed from *Jovis*, and this from *Jehova*, I shall not pretend to determine, any more than what Dependance βάλλω, *I cast* or *dart*, may have from בעל *Baal*: But that the *Asiatic* Terms can be deduced from the *European*, seems absurd to imagine. In like manner this *Greek* Name Ἀστροαρχὴ *Astroärche*, may, in the first part of its Composition, ἄστρον *Astron*, a *Star*, bear some little Resemblance to the Sound of the Name given this Deity by the *Phœnicians*; which, according to *Varro*, *Cicero*, the *LXX*, and others, was *Astarte*, in the Old Testament עשתרות *Ashteroth*, the Deity worshipped by the ancient *Sidonians*.

It would be nauseous to enumerate all the trifling Whims of the *Jewish* *Rabbim* about the Etymology of the Name. Some of them, because the Word signifies a *Flock*, will have it, that the Idol was adored in the Form of *Sheep*; others, that she was so call'd, because she enrich'd her Devotees with *Cattle*; and a great deal of Stuff of this sort may be found in their Comments. Nor is the Hint of the great *Scaliger* more worth regarding, who in his *Conjectanea* to the ivth Book of *Varro*, *De ling. Latin.* would suspect, she was call'd *Ashteroth*, a *Flock*, on account of the great Number of *Sheep* slain at her Sacrifices. The Reason of her Name, it must be confess'd, is very obscure; but the most probable Conjecture, in my Opinion, is, that she was so call'd from the Power she was supposed to have in the Generation of Animals. For the *Hebrew* Word עשתרות *Ashteroth*, does not so much signify a *Flock*, as a Breed of Young; as appears from *Deuteron. vii. 13.* where *Moses* tells the *Israclites*; And [God] shall love thee, and bless thee, and multiply thee, and bless the Fruit of thy Womb, and the Fruit of thy Ground, thy Corn, and thy new Wine, and thy new Oil, the Young of thy Kine, and the עשתרות צאן *Ashteroth tsonca*, Breed of thy *Sheep*. What seems to corroborate this Opinion is, that *Herodotus*, lib. v. says, the *Arabians* call'd her *Alitat*, and, lib. i. *Alitta*; not because the *Arabic* *Halilath* signifies a young *Moon*, as *Scaliger* asserts, but because she was esteemed the Goddess of Generation,

time demanded immense Sums of Money to be brought as a Portion for the Goddeſs.

ration, as the Term *Alitta*, qu. *Validtha*, or *Jalidtha*, from *𐤒𐤍* *Jalad*, *he begat*, evidently implies.

Various and innumerable are the Appellations given by the Heathens to their Deities. And thoſe Critics who pretend to make them exactly correſpond in different Nations, undertake a frivolous and vain Labour. They were always confuſed among the ſame People; for then, as now, almoſt every Worſhipper had a different Notion, every Sect of Priests taught a different Doctrine, and every Writer gave a different Account of God. If therefore we admit any Diſtinction at all, 'tis little better than a Soleciſm to ſay, Such a Divinity of one Nation is the ſame with ſuch a one of another. *The Moon*, among the *Romans*, was ſometimes call'd *Diana*, ſometimes *Lucina*, and ſometimes *Juno*. And ſome Writers call this *Aſarte* the *Venus*; others, the *Diana*, of the *Phœnicians*; both of which were often confounded, and taken one for the other: So that the Diſpute is chiefly about Words. *Virgil* and *Horace* ſay, the tutelar Goddeſs of *Carthage* was *Juno*, that being the Name given to the *Queen of Heaven* by the *Romans*; whoſe Women at the time of their Travail call'd her *Juno Lucina*, as we find her invoked in *Terence*: But to think from thence, that the *Africans* and the *Romans* had in every Particular the ſame Notion of her Power, is ridiculous; ſince, as we have juſt now hinted, 'tis hard to find any two Perſons in theſe our own Times, whoſe Ideas of the Deity are exactly the ſame. *Herodian* here calls her *Urania*, *Heavenly*; which answers well enough to the Wife of *Balsamen*, *The Lord of Heaven*. Nor is it abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the *Carthaginian* or *Punic* Title of *Balsamen*, was given to this Goddeſs herſelf, as well as to what they call the *Jupiter* of the *Carthaginians*: For the Sex is often confounded in all the Gods. And 'tis probable, this is the very Goddeſs mentioned by *Plautus*; who, in his Comedy intitled *Pœnulus*, introduces *Hanno* a *Carthaginian* talking in the *Punic* Tongue; who, after being derided by an illiterate petulant *Celydonian* Slave, cries out; *Guneb Lebalsamen a veruſan* (for ſo the *Carthaginian* Words ſhould be written) *You are a Thief by Balsamen, or the Queen of Heaven, and a Rogue*.

The Image being arrived, and placed in the same Room with his God, he proclaims a ge-

The chief Cause of that great Confusion of *Sexes* and *Numbers* in the Names ascribed to the Deity by all Nations seems to be this. When they would express the high Ideas they had of God's Might and Majesty, as well as Goodness, they commonly invoked him by a masculine Name; but if they meant to signify their Sense of his Lenity and Compassion, even in the midst of his Judgments, they chose to address him in the softer Appellations of the Female Sex. Not that they grossly imagined the same Distinction of Sexes in the Deity as in Creatures; for they often confounded it in the same Name. *Venus* is manifestly of a Masculine Termination in *Latin*, and *Cupido* of a Feminine; yet the former was adored under the Softness of a Woman, the latter under the Sweetness of an Infant Boy. *Venus* is call'd a God by *Homer*, *Euripides*, *Virgil*, and other *Greek* and *Latin* Poets. *Aristophanes* gives her a Masculine Name, Ἀφροδίτου, *Aphroditon*. Nor is this to be deem'd a mere poetic Licence; for the same Confusion of Sexes may be seen in their Historians and Orators. *Demosthenes* begins his celebrated Oration Περὶ Στεφ. with these Words; Ἑστῶτων ἅ, ὧ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχόμεαι πάντες καὶ γυναῖκες; *First of all, O Athenians, I beseech all the Gods both Male and Female*. Where he makes no mention of Goddesses, but calls them all indiscriminately Gods: And to pretend from such Passages that Θεός in *Greek*, or *Deus* in *Latin*, is of the common Gender (as they call it) is a ridiculous Figment of half-learn'd Grammaticasters.

As little Regard is had to *Sex* in the *Hebrew* Names of God in the Old Testament. *Moses*, in his pathetic Exposition with God, *Numb.* xi. 15. addresses him in the Feminine Gender, tho' our Language will not admit the Distinction in the *English* Translation: And the *Israelites*, *Deut.* v. 27. when they desired *Moses* to take the part of a Mediator between God and them, spake to *Moses* (in the original *Hebrew*) as to a Female. Concerning which Places nothing can be more ridiculous than the Comments of *Rabbi Salomon* and other *Jewish* Expositors; who will have it, that *Moses* in the first Text, and the People in the latter, were so frightened, that they spake false Grammar. For the *Hebrew* of the Old Testament often gives Feminine Epithets to Men, when the Actions ascribed to them are Woman-

neral Festival, to be celebrated by all the *Roman* Citizens and Inhabitants of *Italy*, with all

Womanish ; and, on the contrary, as often speaks of and to Women in Masculine Expressions, when the Subject treated of is bold and manly, and the Circumstances described are more proper to the Male Sex. Nor are Instances of this kind wanting in the best Heathen Authors, as appears to every careful and judicious Reader ; though they are badly accounted for by the low Herd of Scholiasts and Grammarians. But to return to the Names of the Deity. The LXX frequently render *Baalim* and *Baal* in the Feminine Gender ; and St. Paul himself does the same by the latter in *Rom. xi. 4. Who have not bowed the Knee to She-Baal.* For the *English* Supplement [*the Image of*] is a very frigid and unlearned Interpolation. Not to mention the mysterious Name יהוה *Jehovah* ; the Singular Noun אלה *Elah*, or אלהא *Eloah*, is evidently of a Feminine Termination. Nor is it only applied to *Aylitta* (as she is call'd by *Herodotus*) the *Babylonian* Goddess, as we find in *Habak i. 11.* compared with *2 Kings xvii. 30* but is also an Appellation given to the God of *Israel*. Thus we read in *Deut. xxxii. 17. They sacrificed לאלהים לאלהים to *Shedim*, not *Elah* ; which the *English* renders, *to Devils*, not to God. But it must be remark'd, that the Epithet שדי *Shadai* (which signifies a *Destroyer*) given to God in *Gen. xvii. 1.* and there translated *Almighty*, is of the same Root with what they here translate *Devils*, following the Opinion of the LXX. Tho' the LXX themselves (or whoever was the Author of the Translation vulgarly ascribed to them) were so conscious of this Difficulty, that they often omitted the Word *Shadai*, when applied to God, and substituted some Pronoun in its Place. So that the *English* Term *Almighty* is no Translation of the *Hebrew* *Shadai*, but an Imitation of the *Greek* *τοχυειν*, foisted into the Copies of the LXX by *Origen*, whose Glosses the *English* Translators have too supinely followed. For I can see no Reason, why the same Word should be interpreted *Almighty* in the Text of *Genesis*, and *Devils* in that of *Deuteronomy*. It seems more probable, that the *Israelites* were blamed by *Moses* for worshipping God under the Notion of his Wrath or Omnipotence, when they were taught to do it under a Sense of his Mercy. For the Relation he bore to them was, that he was the God of their Fathers, who*

sorts of Mirth and Feasting, both public and private, to solemnize the Nuptials of the two Deities.

who brought them out of the Land of *Egypt* ; as was perpetually inculcated to them by their Prophets. This may suffice to account for the Difference and Indifference of Sex in the Names given to the Deity by all Nations.

The next Thing to be discussed is the *Number*. And here we must distinguish between the Multiplicity of Names, and the Plurality of Gods. The former is very great among their Philosophers ; the latter is not so numerous as imagined, even among their Vulgar. The *Romans* attributed the Empire of Heaven, the Sea, and Hell, to *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto* ; whom they call *Celestial*, *Æque-rcan*, and *Infernal*, *Jupiter*. *Virgil*, *Æn.* iv. § 638. speaking of his Power in Hell, says, *Sacra Jovi Stygio ; Rites to Stygian Jove*. *Homer*, *Il.* ix. § 457, calls him Ζεὺς κατὰ χθονός, *Subterranean Jove*. Upon which, *Madam Dacier* makes this ingenious Comment ; “ Les anciens donnoient
“ le Nom de *Jupiter* non seulement au Dieu du Ciel, mais
“ aussi au Dieu de la Mer, comme on le voit dans *Eschyle*.
“ Ils vouloient faire entendre par là, que c’ estoit une seule
“ et meme Divinité qui gouvernoit le Monde ; et c’ estoit
“ sans doute pour enseigner cette Verité, que les anciens
“ Statuaires avoient fait des Statues de *Jupiter*, qui avoient
“ trois Yeux.” *The Ancients gave the Name of Jupiter not only to the God of Heaven, but also to the God of the Sea, as we see in Æschylus. Their Design in this was, to signify that it was only one and the same Divinity, that govern’d the World ; and it was undoubtedly to teach this Truth, that the ancient Statuaries made Statues of Jupiter with three Eyes.* This learned Lady’s Remark is certainly very just with regard to many of the Ancients : But it must still be owned, that the greatest Part had an Idea of more Gods than one. All indeed allowed one supreme God ; and their Notions of the subordinate Divinities were much of the same nature with those entertained by *Christians* concerning *Devils*, *Angels*, and *Saints*.

In the Old Testament the Word translated *God* is generally the Plural אֱלֹהִים *Elohim*. We meet with it first in *Gen.* i. 1. where it is applied to the Singular Verb בָּרָא *He created* ; to intimate, perhaps, that all those Perfections and Honours, ascribed to their Divinities by all Nations,

The Pro-
cession of
the God
*Ielavega-
balus.*

He likewise built a rich magnificent Temple in the Suburbs of *Rome*; to which the God was carried in Procession every Year in the height of Summer; when great Crowds of Spectators

or expressed by a multiplicity of Names and Titles relative to their several Ideas of the Supreme God, did as it were unite and co-operate in the Creation of the Universe. But as the Comment of *Rabbi Bechai* on this Place is the most sensible of any of the *Jewish* Commentators, and not stuffed with silly Figments, Dreams, and Fables, so common to the *Talmudical* and other *Rabbinical* Glosses; we will give it the Reader in his own Words;

אלהים פירושן
בעל הכחות כלם וזוה הטעם לא אמר אל ולא
אלוה כי אם אלהים בלשון רבים: וכן אלהים
קדושים הוא כי הוא הכולל הקדושות כלם:
וכן דרך הלשון בממשלת השפלים: אדונים
קשה בלשון רבים: וזה לגודל מעלת האדון
ולרבו מיני הממשלה שיש לו: וזה בבשר ודם
אף כי בשם ית אשר מיני הממשלה שלו אין
להם מספר וכל המושלים אין ממשלתם רק
Elohim, *that is to*
say, the Lord of all Powers. Hence it is, that Wisdom does
not say, El, nor Eloah, but rather Elohim in the Plural
Number. So again, Josh. xxiv. 19. HOLY GODS [is] he.
Because he includes all Holinesses. And this is the Custom of
the Language in Words expressing the Power of inferior Be-
ings. Thus, Isai. xix. 4. HARD LORDS in the Plural
Number: And that on account of the great Superiority of that
Lord, and the many Kinds of Dominion in him. If this then
be said of Flesh and Blood; how much more of the sacred
Name; of the Kinds of whose Dominion there is no Number;
and from whom all Lords derive their Stay? He is One,
and his Powers many? But this Method of uniting, as it
were, the Perfections of the Deity in a Singular Verb, is
not always observed in the Old Testament; and Elohim,
tho' it has a Masculine Ending, is often referred to Fem-
inine Deities, particularly to this Phœnician Goddess Ashtar-
oth; 1 Kings xi. 5. עֲשֶׂת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צִדְוֹנִים Ashteroth
Elohi Tsidonim; Ashteroth Goddess of the Sidonians. Often-
times

affembled in Cirques and Theatres prepared by him to please the People with Races, Plays, and every thing that can be supposed to delight either the Eyes or Ears; while Feasting and

times the Word *Elohim*, when relative to the True God, is joined with Plural Verbs and Adjectives; and sometimes has emphatical ה *The* prefix'd to it. Thus in *Gen.* xxxv. 7. *Jacob* is said to build an Altar, because נגלו אליו האלהים *Nigelu elaiu Haelohim*; *The Gods were reveal'd to him*. At other Times *Elohim* is interpreted *Angels*. *Psal.* viii. 6. *Thou hast made him a little lower מאלהים Meelohim, than the Gods*. *Psal.* xcvi. 7. *Worship him, כל-אלהים Col-Elohim, All Gods*. Both which Passages are alluded to by the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* under the Notion of *Angels*. (*Heb.* ii. 7, 9. and i. 6.) Not that the *Hebrew* Word implies *Angels*, but because the Writer of the Epistle copied after the LXX.

From all which Places it appears, that the Religion of the sober Heathen was not so contemptible as is vulgarly imagined; since there is occasion enough given for Men to conceive of *Numbers* and *Sexes* in the Divine Powers, or to worship the One Supreme God under several Names and Relations. And that it was consistent with Reverence to the True God, to have a Belief of other Deities, is plain from many Places in the Sacred Writings, particularly that egregious Instance given in 2 *Kings* xvii. where Lions are said to destroy the *Assyrians*, because they understood not the Custom of the God of the Land, viz. *Judea*; till a *Jewish* Priest instructed them in the Method: After which they lived secure, fearing *Jehovah*, and serving each their own God; to whom they built their respective Temples. The Men of *Babylon* in particular built *Succoth Benoth*, i. e. *The Tabernacle of Daughters*, to their Goddesses *Mylitta*; or, in their own *Chaldaean* Dialect, *Mulidtha*, *The Mother*, or the Goddesses of GENERATION; an Appellation well corresponding with the *Sidonian Astarte*, or *Ashtoreth*, qu. *The Patroness of BREEDING*; whose Ceremonies were carried into *Africa*; where the *Carthaginians* worshipped her under the Name *Alitta*, or the Punic Title *Balsamen*, or *Baltsamen*, *Queen of Heaven*; call'd here by our Author *Urania*, *Heavenly*; and *Astroarche*, *Sovereign of the Stars*.

Carousing continued all Night long. The God was brought from the City to this Place, in a Chariot glittering with Gold and precious Stones, and drawn by six large white Horses, without the least Spot, superbly harnessed with Gold and other curious Trappings reflecting a Variety of Colours. *Antonine* himself held the Reins; nor was any Mortal permitted to be in the Chariot; but all kept attendant around him as Charioteer to the Deity, while he ran backward leading the Horses with his Face to the Chariot, that he might have a constant View of his God. In this manner he performed the whole Procession, running backwards with the Reins in his Hands, and always keeping his Eyes on the God: And that he might not stumble or slip (as he could not see where he went) the whole Way was strewed with golden Sand, and his Guards ran with him and supported him on either Side. The People likewise attended the Solemnity, running on each Side the Way with Tapers and Flambeaux, and throwing down Garlands and Flowers as they passed. All the Effigies of the other Gods, the most costly Ornaments and Gifts of the Temples, and the brilliant Arms and Ensigns of the Imperial Dignity, with all the rich Furniture of the Palace, helped to grace the Procession: And the Horse, and all the rest of the Army, marched in Pomp before and after the Chariot. When he came to the Temple, and had set up the God, and performed the Sacrifices and Solemnities before-mentioned; he ascended several great and high Towers, built for the purpose, and threw down among the Multitude, Gold and Silver Cups, Garments, and all sorts of Linens; all which they

they were to scramble for; besides a great number of Animals both wild and tame, except Swine, which he abstained from according to the Law of the *Phœnicians*. In this confused Scrambling many lost their Lives; some being trodden under Foot, and others stabbed and wounded by the Soldiers Spears; so that Numbers were made to rue the sad Effects of that Festival.

He was seen every now and then either driving Chariots or dancing: For he had not Shame enough to hide his Indecencies; but came out among the People with his Eye-lids and Cheeks painted red, degrading the genuine Beauty of his Face with the unnatural Stains of fictitious Colours.

Which *Mæsa* seeing, and suspecting the Soldiers would be displeased at this odd Life of an Emperor, and afraid, that if any thing should befall him, she should again be reduced to a private State, she persuades the silly unthinking Boy to adopt his Cousin, her other Grandson by her Daughter *Mammæa*, and declare him *Cæsar*. This she effected, by soothing his Vanity, and telling him, that he should devote himself chiefly to the Service and Worship of his God; and mind his religious Ceremonies, and the Discharge of his holy Office; but that it was proper some other should be employed in the Administration of human Affairs; who might take the Burden off his Shoulders, and make his Government free and easy: But that no Stranger or Foreigner could be judged so fit for this as his own Cousin. She therefore made a paronymic Alteration of his Name, from *Alexian*, the Name of his Grandfire, to *Alexander*,
A.D. 222.
Alexian
 takes the
 Name of
Alexan-
der.

that of the royal *Macedon*; being a Name not only renown'd and glorious in itself, but which had been held in Honour by the reputed Father of both the Lads. For both *Mæsa's* Daughters and the old Woman herself boasted of the Incest committed with *Antoninus*, Son of *Severus*; that the Boys might be the better loved by the Soldiery, who supposed they were both his natural Offspring.

Alexander
declared
Cæsar,
and made
Consul.

Alexander therefore was declared *Cæsar*, and made Consul with *Antonine*; who ratified both Honours in the Senate; every Member of the House ridiculously enough voting what he was ordered, namely, that *Antonine* should be accounted the Father, who was about sixteen Years of Age, and *Alexander* the Son, who then was almost twelve.

His good
Educa-
tion.

As soon as *Alexander* was made *Cæsar*, *Antonine* endeavoured to instruct him in his own Way of Life, to dance, lead Choruses, and be Partner in his Priest-Office, with all its Habits and Ceremonies. But *Mammæa*, his Mother, took care to keep her Son from those low unkingly Exercises, secretly procuring him Masters of all kinds of Learning, and instilling into his young Breast sober and virtuous Principles. She prevail'd upon him to continue the Use of the *Palæstra*, and all the manly *Gymnastic* Exercises; and to enrich his Mind with the noble and useful Erudition of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. At which Proceeding *Antonine* was sorely disgusted; and often repented that he had made him his Son, and his Assistant in the Empire. He expell'd his Tutors from the Court^e; and some of the most famous he put

^e Among whom was *Ulpian* the famous Lawyer.

to Death; others he drove into Exile; alledging Causes merry enough, that they corrupted the Morals of his adopted Son; and instead of letting him dance in Chorus, and intoxicate himself with religious Ceremonies, they instructed him in sober Learning and the Offices which became a Man.

To such a length of Madness did he run, that Stage-wantonning with Power, he advanced common Buffoons and Stage-Players into the greatest Offices of State. For he made Prefect of the State Camp, one that had been a Dancer from his Infancy, and had formerly performed in the public *Roman* Theatre. Another he took from a Stage-Education, and set him over the Youth to teach them good Breeding, and to bring up fit and able Persons to be chosen Members of the Senate, or received into the Equestrian Order. Coach-Drivers, Comedians, and Pantomimes, were taken into the most important Posts of the Empire; and his Servants or Freed-Men, as every one most excell'd in Infamy or Debauchery, were made Proconsuls, and intrusted with the Government of whole Nations and Provinces.

But that these great Offices, formerly ac-
counted so venerable, should now become the
unreasonable Gifts of Enthusiasm, bestowed on
Infamy and Drunkenness, was matter of great
Uneasiness and Vexation to all Men, but chief-
ly to the *Roman* Soldiers; who now nauseated
and despised him, when he appeared with his
Face trim'd and beautified with greater Nice-
ness, than even became a sober Woman; and
dancing in the public View, deck'd with Neck-
laces of Gold, and neatly dress'd in a soft effe-

A.D. 223.
The Sol-
diers de-
spise An-
tonine and
favour A-
lexander.

feminate Habit, to the Shame and Reproach of his very Sex. Wherefore they began to transfer all their Esteem and Affection to *Alexander*; of whom they conceived better Hopes, as of a Youth modestly and virtuously educated. They took particular Care to guard his Person; as they perceived *Antonine* was plotting his Ruin. Nor would his Mother *Mammæa* suffer him to taste either Drink or Meat that was sent him by the other: And the Youth had all his Cooks and Butlers, not the common Servants of the Court, but picked out and recommended by his Mother, as Persons of Faith and Integrity. She likewise supplied him secretly with Moneys to distribute clandestinely among the Soldiers; that she might confirm their Good-will towards *Alexander* by pecuniary Interest, the strongest Tie to hold the Soldiery.

Antonine
degrades
Alexan-
der, and
endea-
vours to
dispatch
him.

Antonine being inform'd of this, left no Means unattempted to bring about the Destruction of *Alexander* and his Mother. All which Plots were averted and rendered abortive by *Mæsa* their common Grandmother, a Woman naturally of a sharp penetrating Wit, and one that had, besides, lived many Years at Court with her Sister *Julia*, Wife to *Severus*; and therefore being no Stranger to the Intrigues of that Place, she easily discovered *Antonine's* Designs; who was a Person of a very shallow Capacity, and always talked and acted what his Fancy suggested, without Fear or Foresight. As he found therefore his secret Attempts unsuccessful, he resolved to degrade the Boy of the honourable Title of *Cæsar*. Accordingly, *Alexander* was deprived of *Cæsarean* Homage in Addresses, and at his public Appearances. But the Soldiers fought

fought after him, and resented it bitterly, that his Power was infringed. *Antonine* likewise whisper'd about, that *Alexander* was at the point of Death, on purpose to try how the Soldiers would take the Report. But they, exasperated at not seeing the Youth, and stung with Indignation at the Report, refused to send *Antonine* his customary Guard; and, having shut themselves in the Camp, demanded to see *Alexander* in the Chapel. *Antonine*, being terribly alarmed, was obliged to take *Alexander* with him in a royal Sedan studded with precious Stones set in large Plates of Gold, and carry him to the Camp. When they arrived, the Soldiers opened the Gates, and conducted them into the Chapel of the Camp; where they saluted *Alexander* with the most honourable Titles, shouting with loud and joyous Acclamations; but paid little or no Regard to *Antonine*. He, taking their Disrespect as a great Affront, continued all Night in the Chapel, enraged against the Soldiers; and having marked down such as appeared most forward in their Declarations of extraordinary Affection for *Alexander*, he gave Orders for apprehending and bringing them to Punishment, as Ringleaders of Mutiny. Which the Army resenting, as they otherwise had long hated *Antonine*, and desired to rid themselves of an Emperor they were ashamed of, they laid hold of this as an opportune Juncture and fair Excuse, to succour and vindicate their Fellow-Soldiers; and accordingly dispatch'd him and his Mother *Soæmis* (who was present with him as being Empress-Mother) and as many of his Attendants, who were in the Camp, as they thought were Ministers and Coadjutors to him in Wick-
edness.

The Sol-
diers kill
Antonine
and his
Mother.

edness. The dead Bodies of *Antonine* and *Soemmis* were given to the Populace, to drag about and treat with all the Ignominy they thought proper; and after they had been mangled and abused with all kinds of Indignities, they were committed to the Common Sewers, which run into the River *Tiber*. Thus was *Antonine* slain with his Mother, after he had arrived to the sixth Year of his Reign^f, and lived in the manner already described. The Soldiers declared *Alexander* Emperor, and conducted him into the Palace, very young, and as yet, like a School-Boy, under the Tuition of his Mother and Grandame.

^f Historians and Chronologists differ much about the Length of *Antonine's* Reign. *Herodian* says here, he was advanced to the sixth Year of his Reign. *Dio*, and from him *Zonaras*, make him reign three Years, nine Months, and four Days; *Lampridius* three Years; *Eutropius* two Years, eight Months. Some give him two Years; others three; but none, except our Author, exceed four Years. It is almost impossible that either *Dio* or *Herodian* could be ignorant, how long an Emperor reigned, of whose Life and Death they both were living Witnesses. The Error must therefore be imputed to the Corruption of one of their Copies. But *Dio's* Account will appear genuine, to any one that compares the Facts related by the several Writers. The Number then, as it now stands, in *Herodian* must be spurious. I make no doubt but the Author himself wrote it, *The fourth Year*; which agrees pretty well with *Dio*. For as *Antonine* reign'd above three Years and nine Months, it might well enough be said, by one that chose to express it in whole Numbers, without being so minute as to subtract the deficient odd Time, that *he advanced to the fourth Year*. Every one, who is the least conversant in old Manuscripts, knows how easy an Error it was for the Transcribers to mistake εἴς, or ἑξ, for ἑξ, the sixth for the fourth. What more confirms me in this Conjecture is, that *Nicephorus* the Patriarch has in his *Chronicon* (probably from *Herodian*) Ἀντωνίνος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔτη δ. *Antonine* *Gabalus* *four Years*.

HERODIAN.

BOOK VI.

IN what manner *Antonine* lost his Life has A.D. 223. been related above. *Alexander* was now invested with the Supreme Power, or rather the Form and Name of it; for the Administration of Affairs, and the Reins of Empire, were intrusted to the Hands of the Women; who endeavoured to restore Things to the Regularity of a sober and well-conducted Government. The first thing they did was to chuse out sixteen of the most grave and honest Senators, to be Assistants and Counsellors to the young Prince: And nothing of Importance was said or acted without being confirmed by their Approbation. This Constitution of Government, so happily changed from the most injurious Tyranny, to the Form of an Aristocracy, was highly pleasing to the People, Soldiers, and Senate. First then the Images of the Gods, which *Antonine* had displaced and removed, were sent again to their ancient proper Temples and Chapels. And after this, they who had been advanced by him to Posts of Honour and Power, for no other Reason but because they excell'd in Vice, were stript of the new Authority given them,

them; and ordered to return to their former Professions, as better adapted to their Abilities and Merits: And all Offices and Administrations were filled, the Political and Judicial with Persons of Erudition and Knowledge in the Law; and the Military with Officers, whose Valour, Conduct, and Skill in Affairs of War, had been tried, and found to be unexceptionable.

A.D. 228. When Matters had been carried on a considerable time in this good Order, *Mæsa*, who was now of a great Age, died; and had her Obsequies celebrated with all Imperial Honours; and was, according to the Custom of the *Romans*, number'd among the Gods.

Alexander's good Character,

Mammæa, perceiving herself now left alone with her Son, endeavoured to govern and rule him in the same manner; and as she saw him vested with Supreme Authority, when he was but a Boy, fearing lest the natural Warmth of Youth, prompted by Impunity and Arbitrary Power, might hurry him into some of the Vices of his Family, she kept a strict Watch about the whole Palace, nor suffered any Persons of bad Character to come into his Presence; lest some servile Pimp or pernicious Flatterer might poison the Morals of the Youth, and incite his Passions, now in their prime Vigour, to pursue the Pleasures of Lust and Lewdness. The better to prevent this, she persuaded him to spend the greatest part of the Day in hearing and deciding Causes; that being taken up in the good and necessary Employments of a Sovereign, he might have the less Time to hearken to the Temptations of Sin. The Youth was naturally of a meek gentle Temper, always inclined to Goodness and Humanity; as the whole Course

of

of his Reign sufficiently shewed. For he held the Imperial Sovereignty fourteen Years without Blood; nor can the Murther of one Person in all that Time be laid to his Charge. On the contrary, so merciful was his Nature, that he spared several clearly convicted of capital Offences; a Clemency very rare, and not easily found practised and persisted in by any of the Emperors of our Times since the Reign of *Marcus*. But no one can justly say, there is one Instance of *Alexander's* putting to Death any Person uncondemned, during the space of so many Years. He even reproved his Mother, and that with much Sharpness, not to say Indignation, because she appeared too propense to Avarice, and carried her Love of Money beyond the Bounds of Reason. For while she pretended her Design was only to raise Money, that *Alexander* might have wherewithal to distribute easily and liberally among his Soldiers; under that Pretext she gathered a private Hoard. This cast a Stigma on his Government: For though he was so far from encouraging, that he was vex'd at her iniquitous Practices; yet there are certain Instances, where she defrauded several Persons of their private Fortunes and Patrimonies.

She also chose him a young Lady of Patri- A.D.230.
cian Family for his Wife; whom, though cohabiting with, and well beloved by her Husband, she soon after expell'd the Court. For being exceeding haughty, she could not endure that any Woman besides herself should be called Empress. And so far did her proud imperious Spirit carry her, that the young Lady's Father, though much respected and honoured by
Alex-

Alexander, his Son-in-law, not able to bear the contumelious Treatment of *Mammæa* towards himself and his Daughter, fled into the Camp; saying, he returned *Alexander* Thanks for the Honour he had done him; but at the same time complaining of the injurious Behaviour of *Mammæa*; which she resenting, ordered him to be put to Death; and sent his Daughter, whom she had expell'd the Court, an Exile into *Libya*. But all this was done without *Alexander's* Consent; who was rather compelled to suffer it: For his Mother held him in such unreasonable Subjection, that he did whatever she was pleased to command. And in this one Particular, *Alexander's* Character may be exposed to Censure; that being of too tame and easy a Disposition, and standing more in awe of his Mother than the Duty of a Son requires, his Obedience was too general; and he was sometimes prevailed upon to do what was contrary to the Sentiments of his own Mind.

A.D. 235.
Alarms
from Syria.

When he had reigned in this manner thirteen Years without the least Blame^s, as to his own Actions; in the fourteenth Year sudden

^s *Dio*, *Zonaras*, and other Writers, agree with our Author, in extolling the good Government of *Alexander*; which was moderate, but not remiss. *Lampridius* assures us, this Emperor would suffer no Office, either Civil or Military, to be disposed of on lucrative Considerations; it being his usual Saying, *That he would countenance no Traffickers for Power; since if he permitted them to purchase, he could not condemn them for making the most of their Market; for that he should be ashamed to punish that Man for selling, who himself had bought.* The same Historian tells us, he punish'd Thieves with much Severity, especially Great Thieves in Office, such as corrupt Judges, Commissioners, &c. But there was another pernicious sort of Court-Theft, very flagrant under the former Reign, but so rigorously prosecuted

Exprefses arrived with Difpatches from the Governors of *Syria* and *Mefopotamia*: The Contents of which were; “ That *Artaxerxes*, King

cuted by *Alexander*, that he at laft effectually fupreffed it. Of this the fame Author gives us one notable Inftance.

It was common for the Courtiers at *Rome* to boast of their extraordinary Interelt with the Emperor; that they had him fo much in their Power, that he could refufe nothing they fhould ask. By thefe fpecious Baits they defrauded their Fellow-Subjects of great Sums of Money, and other Presents, under pretence of using their Interelt for the Mitigation of condemnatory Sentences, or Preferment to Posts of Profit: But after the receipt of the Perquifites, feldom concern’d themfelves about fulfilling their Promifes. This kind of Gentry the *Romans* call’d *Fumi-venditores*, *Smoke-fellers*; becaufe their Promifes were as light, and as pernicious, as that troublefom Vapour. *Alexander*, being willing to detect one of thefe honourable Thieves, and make him an Example to the reft, ordered a certain Perfon to apply to *Turinus* (that was the Smoke-feller’s Name) for the Grant of a Place then vacant. The Man goes, and earneftly follicits his Interelt in confideration of a very valuable Prefent. *Turinus*, after much Complaisance, bids him give himfelf no farther Concern; for that his Bufinefs fhould be certainly done. Soon after, he fends him word, that he had asked the Emperor, and had obtained his Promise; when, in reality, he had never fpoken a Word about it. The Petitioner comes to Court; and, by the Emperor’s Order, makes another Application to *Turinus*; who fteps into the Prefence-chamber, as if he was going to put the Emperor in mind of his Promise. While he was there, *Alexander* declares to thofe prefent, that it was his Pleafure to give fuch a Place to the Petitioner on Account of his faithful Services: Upon which, *Turinus* immediately runs to the Door; and, by a Smile and a Nod, intimates to the Man that he had finish’d the Affair. For which piece of Service he afterwards demands and receives the promifed Confideration. His pretended good Offices being thus amply rewarded, the Emperor orders him to be apprehended, and indicted of *Capnopoly*: And fufficient Evidences having made their Depofitions in his Trial, he was caft, condemned, and executed in the following manner.

He

“ of the *Persians*, after totally overthrowing the
 “ *Parthians*, subverting their Power in the East,
 “ and slaying their Monarch *Artabanus* (who
 “ was before call’d the Great King, and wore
 “ two Diadems) had subjugated all the neigh-
 “ bouring Barbarians, and loaded them with
 “ heavy Tributes. That, not content with
 “ this, nor containing himself within the *Tigris*,
 “ but having passed the Banks of the River,
 “ and the Frontiers of the *Roman* Territories,
 “ he was overrunning *Mesopotamia*, and threat-
 “ ening the *Syrians*; claiming all that Part of
 “ the Continent opposite to *Europe*, call’d *Asia*,
 “ and bounded by the *Ægean* Sea and the
 “ Straits of the *Propontis*, as the Possession of
 “ his Ancestors, with Intent to annex it to the
 “ *Persian* Monarchy; pretending, that from *Cy-*
 “ *rus*, who first translated the Kingdom from
 “ the *Medes* to the *Persians*, quite down to *Da-*
 “ *rius*, the last King of the *Persians* (who was
 “ overthrown by *Alexander* the *Macedon*) all the
 “ Countries as far as *Ionia* and *Caria* were go-
 “ verned by *Persian* Vice-Roys; and that there-
 “ fore it became him to suffer no Mutilations
 “ in his Realm, but recover to the *Persians*
 “ their ancient Power, free and undiminish-
 “ ed.”

He was fastened to a Stake, and a smothering Fire made
 about him with Straw, green Wood, &c. which perpetu-
 ally sent up Clouds of Smoke. till he was suffocated; a
 Crier all the time of the Execution bawling out aloud; *He*
that sold Smoke, is punish’d with Smoke. But *Lampridius*
 adds; “ This was no Instance of Cruelty in the Emperor;
 “ for *Turinus* had used such iniquitous Practices a long
 “ time, and was known to be a most infamous Smoke-
 “ feller.”

As *Alexander* had been brought up from his *Alexander* Childhood in a long uninterrupted Peace, and ^{writes to} the Ease and Pleasures of a City-Life; he was ^{the Per-} struck with no little Surprize at these sudden ^{sian.} unexpected Advices sent from the Governors of the Eastern Provinces. At first, a Council of his Friends being called, it was thought proper to send an Ambassy, with Letters of Remonstrance, in order to stop the Progress of the Barbarian, and check his Presumption. Letters therefore were dispatch'd, intimating; "That it was
"just for him to remain in his own Territories,
"without raising any new Disturbances; nor,
"being elevated with vain Hopes, to excite a
"difficult and dangerous War. That it was the
"Duty of every Man, to be contented with his
"own. That he would find it a very different
"matter to contend against the *Romans*, from
"what it was to fight with his Neighbours and
"Barbarians of his own kind. And that he would
"do well to recollect the Times of *Augustus*,
"Trajan, Lucius, and Severus;" whose several Victories gained over the Barbarians, and the Trophies raised thereupon, the Letters particularly mentioned. And *Alexander* thought by these means; either to persuade or frighten the Barbarian into Peace.

However, the *Persian* nothing regarded these ^{History of} Menaces, but persisted in his Purpose, driving ^{the Par-} and carrying off every thing that belonged to ^{thians.} the *Romans*, as judging the Decision of Affairs depended on Actions, not on Words. He ran and rode through all *Mesopotamia*, laying waste and plundering as he went; and besieged the *Romans*, who were encamp'd on the Banks of the River to defend the Boundaries of the Empire.

pire. For being naturally vain-glorious, and lifted up with the late Successes he had obtain'd beyond his most sanguine Expectations, he imagined he should easily carry all before him. And indeed he had no small Encouragements to incite him to aim at the Enlargement of his Dominions; inasmuch as he was the first that durst attack the *Parthian* Power, and recover that Kingdom to the *Persians*. For since the Reign of *Darius*, whom *Alexander* dethroned, for many Years the *Macedonians* and Successors of *Alexander*, having divided the Government of the Eastern Nations and all *Asia*, reigned over separate Countries: But when they quarrell'd among themselves, and debilitated the *Macedonian* Power by perpetual Wars, *Arfaces* the *Parthian*, as is reported, first perswaded the Barbarians beyond the Rivers to revolt from the *Macedonian* Yoke; and having obtained the Diadem by their unanimous Consent, he reign'd over the *Parthians* and all the adjacent Countries; and the Kingdom, after his Decease, devolved to his Posterity, for the most part by lineal Descent, quite down to *Artabanus* of our Times; whom *Artaxerxes* slew, and restored again the Power to the *Persians*; and, after subduing the neighbouring Barbarian Nations, with Ease made an Invasion upon the Empire of the *Romans*.

Preparations made against the *Persians*.

Alexander therefore being informed, while he was at *Rome*, of the Barbarian's audacious Actions in the East, thinking this an Insolence not to be tamely born; and the Governors of the Provinces requiring his Presence; though much against his Inclination, he prepares for an Expedition; and levies Forces in *Italy* and all the Provinces of the Empire, enlisting all, who in
Strength

Strength of Body, or Vigour of Age, seemed capable of bearing Arms. Great Commotion was kindled throughout all the *Roman* Empire, while they were collecting an Army sufficient to withstand the Multitude of Barbarians, that, as they were informed, was making various Incursions into the *Roman* Provinces. *Alexander*, having summoned together the *Roman* Soldiers, and ordered them to meet in the accustomed Plain, as soon as they were assembled, mounts the Rostrum, and makes an Oration to the following Effect.

“ I could rather chuse, my Fellow-Soldiers, *Alexander's*
 “ to deliver myself to you, after my wonted *Speech to*
 “ manner, in those agreeable Sounds, which at *the Sol-*
 “ the same time grace the Orator and delight *diers.*
 “ the Audience. For whereas you have been
 “ bless'd so many Years with Peace, should you
 “ now hear something of another Nature, you
 “ may perhaps be shock'd at it, as being con-
 “ trary to your Expectations. But it is the
 “ Part of brave and prudent Men, to wish in-
 “ deed for the best, but to endure with Patience
 “ whatever shall happen. For the Enjoyment
 “ of a pleasurable Life is, I confess, very sweet:
 “ But the bringing bad Things to their neces-
 “ sary Correction, is at once a manly and a
 “ glorious Task. To be the first Aggressors in
 “ unjust Actions, carries with it a rash and un-
 “ reasonable Provocation: But when we only
 “ rid ourselves of bold Disturbers, we have the
 “ Encouragement of a good Conscience, and
 “ may with greater Reason hope for Success,
 “ where we are not Actors, but Resisters of
 “ Evil. *Artaxerxes*, a *Persian* Man, has killed
 “ his Master *Artabanus*, wrested his Govern-
 “ ment,

“ ment, and transfer’d it to the *Persians* : And,
“ what is still more insolent, has defied the
“ Force of your Arms, and, despising the Glo-
“ ry of the *Romans*, attempted to over-run and
“ waste the rightful Possessions of your Empire.
“ At first, I endeavour’d, by Letters and Ad-
“ monitions, to persuade this Man to curb his
“ insatiate Madness and Lust after the Pro-
“ perties of others. But the puff’d-up boasting
“ Barbarian will not contain himself within
“ his own Confines ; but challenges us to Bat-
“ tle. Let us not therefore hesitate or delay ;
“ but let the elder among you remind them-
“ selves of those Trophies, which, with *Severus*,
“ and *Antoninus* my Father, you have so often
“ raised against the Barbarians : And let such
“ as are in the Flower of their Age, be laudably
“ covetous of Fame and Glory ; and shew the
“ World, that you know both to cultivate Peace
“ with Meekness and Reverence, and to chastise
“ Offenders, when Need requires, with brave
“ Resentment in the Field of Battle. I need not
“ tell you, ’tis the Nature of the Barbarians, to
“ exert their Courage against the Timid and
“ Tardy ; but to flag and be soon dispirited,
“ wherever they meet with a vigorous Resist-
“ ance. They have no Hopes of Victory in a
“ close Conflict, or equal Opposition ; but liv-
“ ing by frequent IncurSIONS, and as frequent
“ Flights, their Gain consists in Rapine and
“ Robbery : On the contrary, we preserve good
“ Discipline and Order ; and have learned to
“ conquer them, by having been always their
“ Victors.”

As soon as *Alexander* had ended, the whole
Army seconded his Oration with a loud united
Shout ;

Shout; and expressed their Readiness to undertake the War. After distributing large Sums of Money amongst them, he gave Orders to get every thing ready for a speedy March. In the mean while he goes to the Senate-House; where having made a Speech much to the same purport as the former, he fixes the Time for his Departure.

The appointed Day being come, he first attends the usual Divine Service for Success to his Expedition; and then, attended by all the Senate and People, who took their Leaves in the most pathetic manner, he sets out from Rome on an Expedition against the *taxes*. still turning back his Eyes on the City, and weeping. Nor were there any of the Populace who saw him depart without Tears^h: For he

^h *Lampridius* assigns several Reasons, why *Alexander* was so much beloved by all Orders and Degrees of his Subjects. The principal of which are; That he was not only a Prince of an excellent Disposition himself, but was so happy as to have good Counsellors and Ministers. That he never oppressed his People with unnecessary Taxes; but, on the contrary, restored, out of his own Revenue, the public Allowance of Corn and Oil to the People, which his Predecessor *Heliogabalus* had greatly diminished. That he persecuted no Sect of Religion, but gave free Toleration to *Jews* and *Christians*; the latter of which he so favour'd, that, when there was a warm Controversy between them and the Victuallers concerning a Place the *Christians* had seized to perform Divine Worship in, which the Victuallers claim'd as their Right, the Dispute being refer'd to the Emperor, he determin'd in favour of the *Christians*; saying, It was better God should be worshipped, be it in what Form it will, than that the Place should fall to the Victuallers. That as to his own Religion, it was a Mixture of *Paganism*, *Judaism*, and *Christianity*; by which he made himself agreeable to the moderate Professors of all the three. For he kept in his private Chapel, for his own Devotion, the Images of the Deified Princes; but only those of the best Character for Virtue. Among these were also the Images of *Apollonius*,

was much beloved by the whole People, as having been brought up among them, and reigned so many Years with Clemency and Moderation. He pursued his March with great Expedition, and in a short time arrived at *Illyrium*; where, going through the Countries, and reviewing the Soldiers of the several Camps, he gathers considerable Reinforcements; and then puts the Army under march for *Antioch*. Here he staid some time, collecting all the necessary Provisions for War; and exercising his Soldiers, and improving them in Military Discipline.

Ambassies
to and
from the
Persian.

Before he proceeded, it was thought proper to send another Ambassy to the *Persian* with Terms of Peace. For being so near, he thought he could either persuade or frighten the Enemy into an Accommodation. But the Barbarian sent back the Ambassadors unsuccessful in their Negotiations; and himself chose out four hundred *Persians* of the largest Size, richly dress'd, and deck'd with Ornaments of Gold, mounted on generous Steeds, and furnished with Bows and Arrows of uncommon Magnitude and Beauty, and sent them as Ambassadors to *Alexander*; thinking the Aspect and ostentatious Habit of the *Persians* would strike Terror into the *Roman* Army. The Contents of this Ambassy were; “ That *Artaxerxes*, the Great King,
“ commanded the *Romans* and their Prince to
“ depart out of all *Syria*, and *Asia* opposite to
“ *Europe*; and let the *Persian* Dominion extend

nus, *Christ*, *Abraham*, and *Orpheus*.—*Apollonius* was a *Pythagorean* Philosopher in the Time of *Domitian*, famous for working Miracles.

“ as far as *Ionia* and *Caria*, and all the Countries
 “ bounded by the *Ægean* and *Pontic* Seas ; for
 “ that these were the hereditary Possessions of
 “ the *Persians*.”

The four hundred Ambassadors having delivered their Mandates, *Alexander* orders them all to be apprehended ; and, after stripping them of their glittering Ornaments, sends them into *Phrygia* ; where he allotted them Villages to dwell in, and Ground to manure ; judging it a sufficient Punishment, to hinder their Return into their own Country : For to put them to Death, he thought, would be impious and unmanly ; as they were not taken in the Field of Battle, but only executed the Commands of their Master by whom they were accredited.

While Matters were thus transacting, and *Alexander* was preparing to pass the Rivers and penetrate into the Enemy's Country ; some of the Forces which came from *Egypt* deserted ; and several other Seditions were raised in *Syria* against the Empire : But the Rebels were soon taken, and brought to Punishment. After which, *Alexander* sent several of the Camps in these Parts into the other Countries, the better to hinder the Incurfions of the Barbarians.

These Dispositions being made ; and a powerful Army collected, judg'd sufficient to match the Multitude of the Barbarians ; a Council of War was held ; the Result of which was, to divide the Army into three separate Bodies : One of which he ordered to march to the North, thro' *Armenia* (which at that Time was held well-affected to the *Romans*) and penetrate into the Country of the *Medes*. The second was likewise sent Northward towards the Barbarian's

Manner
of raising
Troops in
Persia.

Territories ; where, they say, the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates* join, and their confluent Streams are received into a great number of Lakes and Marshes : Which is the Cause why these Rivers onely have no visible Place where they disem-bogue. The third and bravest Part he promised to lead himself, taking the middle Route, against the Barbarians. His Intent in thus dividing the Army was, that, by different Routes, he might surprize the Enemy unprovided ; and that the Multitude of the *Persians*, being separated into several Parties, in order to oppose the frequent Incursions of the *Romans*, should be weakened by these Diversions, and take the Field with less Order. For the Barbarians have no Forces serving for Pay, as the *Romans* ; nor do they keep constant Camps, or maintain a Standing Army exercised in the Arts of War ; but the whole Multitude of their Men, and sometimes their Women, assemble whenever the King commands ; and as soon as the War is finished, every one returns to his own Home, with all the Booty he could get, as a Reward for his Service. They use Bows, and Horses, not only for War, as the *Romans* do ; but they are brought up with them from their Infancy, and pass their Life in Hunting ; nor do they ever go on Foot, or without their Quivers ; but are perpetually riding, and shooting, either against their Enemies, or at wild Beasts.

One Di-
vision
makes a
Descent
into *Me-
dia*.

But these Measures of *Alexander* were not so fortunate as they appeared prudent ; for the Army that was sent through *Armenia*, having, with much Labour and Difficulty, passed the craggy and steep Mountains in those Parts (for as it was the height of Summer, the Season somewhat

somewhat facilitated their Passage) made a Descent upon the *Medes*; and, having wasted their Country, and burnt several Villages, carried off the Plunder. Which the *Persian* being inform'd of, came with numerous Forces to their Assistance; but could not drive the *Romans* out of their Borders. For it, being a rough uneven Country, gives firm treading enough, and easy Marches for Infantry; but the Craggedness of the Mountains greatly retarded the Barbarian Horse; and embarrassed, and sometimes quite hindered their Marches.

At the same Time Advice was brought to A *Roman* the *Persian* King, that another Army of the *Romans* had made a Diversion into the Eastern ^{Army cut all to pieces.} Parts of *Parthia*; and were scouring the Plains. Fearing therefore that, the *Parthians* being easily overthrown, they might pour in their Forces upon the *Persians*; he left what he thought a sufficient Power for the Defence of *Media*, and hastens, with all the rest of his Army, to the Eastern Parts. The *Romans*, meeting with no Opposition, marched in a careless disorderly manner, supposing, that *Alexander*, with the third Division of the Forces, which was by far the greatest and most powerful, had by this time penetrated into the midst of the Enemy's Country; and that the Barbarians, being constantly diverted in order to obstruct him, would render their March easy and unmolested. For it had been agreed, that all the three Armies should break in upon the Enemy from different Parts; and a Place was appointed, where they were to meet, and bring in all the Plunder and Prisoners they took. But *Alexander* deceived them; for he neither led in his Army, nor entered

tered himself; whether it was through Fear and Unwillingness to hazard the Safety of his own Person, for the Defence of the *Roman* Empire; or whether his Mother hindered him, through a womanish Timorousness, and overmuch Fondness for her Son, we cannot determine: But 'tis certain, she always suppress'd and dull'd his manly Spirit; persuading him, that others ought to be exposed for him, but that himself should always keep aloof from Danger. This was the Destruction of the *Roman* Army that had entered the Enemy's Country. For the *Persian*, with all his Forces, came upon them unprepared, because unexpected. He had surrounded and hem'd them in as it were in a Net; and, pouring in Vollies of Arrows from every Side, destroyed a whole Army of the *Romans*; who, as they were but few in comparison with the Enemy, could not withstand such prodigious Odds; and, being obliged to make use of their Arms to cover the naked parts of their Bodies exposed to the Shafts, thought themselves happy enough, if they could but act only on 'the defensive, without annoying the Enemy. But when they had gathered into a close Body, and, by the Projection of their Shields, had form'd a kind of Wall, from within which they fought as from a Town invested; tho' shot and wounded from every Part, yet they made a brave and obstinate Resistance, till, overpower'd by Numbers, they fell all to a Man. This great Calamity gave such a Blow to the *Roman* Power, as can hardly be parallel'd in any of their former Misfortunes; cutting off at once a numerous Army, an Army that in Steadiness, Strength, and Bravery, came nothing short of the best among
the

the Ancients; and swelling the *Persian* with Hopes of greater Atchievements, through the good Fortune of so complete a Victory.

When the News was brought to *Alexander*, *Alexander* who lay dangerously sick (whether by Trouble ^{returns} of Mind, or the Unwholesomeness of the Cli- ^{with Dis-}mate, to which he had not been accustomed, is ^{grace to} *Antioch.* uncertain) he bore it very hardly. And the rest of the Troops conceived great Indignation against him; for that he had betrayed their Fellow-Soldiers by his Falshood, in not performing his part of the Agreement. Being now unable to bear the Violence of his Distemper, heightened by the thick sultry Air of the Place; and a Sicknefs raging among the whole Army, especially those who came from *Illyrium* (for these, having been used to a moist cold Air, and feeding a little too plentifully, according to their accustomed manner, suffered exceedingly from the Disease, and were carried off in great Numbers) he resolved to return to *Antioch*. Accordingly, he sends for the Army in *Media*; the greatest part of which perished on the Mountains, as they came back: For the excessive Cold so benumb'd their Fingers and Toes, and other extreme Parts of their Bodies, that the Blood stagnated; and the Mortification spreading, they died so fast, that very few returned alive of the whole Number. *Alexander*, with the Remainder of his Division, arrived at *Antioch*, after losing great Numbers by the Contagion beforementioned. This inglorious Expedition caused great Sorrow to the *Roman* Army; and reflected equal Dishonour on *Alexander*; who was as deficient in his Purposes, as unsuccessful in Fortune; and had destroyed the greatest

greatest part of this triple Army, by Sickness, War, and Cold, a Variety of Calamities!

He had not been long at *Antioch* before he recovered his Health, refresh'd by the wholesome Air and the Plenty of Water in that City, after the dry scorching Heats of *Mesopotamia*. He likewise endeavoured to regain the Soldiers Favour, and to comfort their Misfortune, by the Distribution of large Sums of Money: For this he thought a catholic Remedy for military Disorders, and the best Restorative for their declining Affection. This done, he levied new Recruits, and was making Preparations to go against the *Persians* once more, if they were not quiet with their Victory, but persisted to be further troublesome. But while he was thus employ'd, Advice came, that the *Persian* had broken his Troops, and sent every Man to his own Habitation. For though the Barbarians seemed to have gotten the better, nevertheless, their Strength was considerably impaired by the frequent Skirmishes in *Media*; and even their Victory in *Parthia* cost them dear, great Numbers of them being killed, and most of the rest much wounded: For the *Romans* fell like Men, and involved many of their Enemies in their Calamity; and were only conquered as far as they were out-numbered, the Slain on either Side being pretty near equal, and the Barbarians superior, not in Prowess but Multitude. What sufficiently proves this Loss of the Barbarians is, that they remained very quiet, nor meddled again with Arms for three or four Years. Which *Alexander* hearing, he likewise kept himself at *Antioch*; and, being eased from the Cares of War, indulged himself with more Freedom

Freedom and Security in the Pleasures and Diversions of that City.

Tho' he thought not every thing entirely at Alarms Peace with regard to the *Persians*, yet he knew from *Illyrium*. it would take up a considerable Time for the Barbarian to collect his Forces together; who, when once dispersed, are not very easily assembled again; forasmuch as they are under no Discipline or Order, but are rather a promiscuous Croud than an Army. Besides, they have no more Provisions than every one brings with him from Home for present Use; and 'tis not without much Reluctance and Tardiness, that they are prevail'd on to leave their Children and Wives, and Places where they dwell. But, in the midst of this Security, Couriers arrived from the Governors of *Illyrium* with Dispatches which alarmed *Alexander* worse than ever. For the Contents were, "That the *Germans* had
" pass'd the *Rhine* and the *Danube*; were waft-
" ing the *Roman* Territories, investing the
" Camps on the Banks of the Rivers, and ransacking, in large Bodies, the principal Towns
" and Villages. That all that Part of *Illyrium*
" on the Confines of *Italy* was in no small Danger; and that therefore his Presence, with
" all the Force he had with him, was absolutely necessary." The News greatly embarrass'd *Alexander*, and gave the Soldiers who came from *Illyrium* much Uneasiness; who look'd upon themselves as doubly distress'd, both from what they had suffered in the *Persian* War, and the Calamities they heard were inflicted on their Families by the *Germans*. This rekindled their Indignation against *Alexander*; who had before, either through Negligence or Cowardice, betrayed

trayed and ruined Affairs in the East ; and appeared now but timorous and slow to assist the Northern Nations.

A.D. 236. Both *Alexander* and his Friends with him were now greatly concerned, and even fear'd for *Italy* itself ; as they judged the Danger threatened by the *Germans* very different from that of the *Persians*. For these, living in the Eastern Regions, separated from us by a vast Extent of Land and Sea, have hardly so much as heard of the *Italians* : On the contrary, the *Illyrian* Nations having very contracted Confines, and but little Land under the *Roman* Jurisdiction, render the Distance between the *Germans* and *Italians* but small ; since their interjacent Borders is all that separates the other two Countries. Compell'd therefore by Necessity, tho' much against his Will, after great Reluctance, he gives Orders to prepare for an Expedition : And having left what was thought a sufficient Force for Defence of the *Roman* Frontiers on the Banks of the Rivers ; and fortified the Camps and Forts with additional Works, and fill'd them with their proper Complements, he departs with the rest of the Army for *Germany* ; and by forced Marches soon arrived on the Banks of the *Rhine* ; where he encamped, and made the necessary Preparations for a *German* War.

He first threw a Bridge of Boats over the River, in order to facilitate the Passage of his Forces : For the *Rhine* and the *Danube* are two exceeding large Rivers in the North ; one of which washes the Coast of *Germany*, the other runs along by *Pannonia*. In the Summer they are both navigable, being of a very wide and deep

Alexander
marches
against the
Germans.

Descrip-
tion of the
Rhine and
Danube.

deep Channel: But in the Winter they are frozen so hard by the Cold, that they ride upon them as on a solid Plain; the Ice being so thick and strong, that 'tis not only Proof against the trampling of the Horses Hoofs, and the Feet of Men, but whenever the People want Water, they come not with Buckets, or other hollow Vessels, to draw, but are furnish'd with Axes and Mattocks, to cut off great Lumps of congeal'd Water; which they carry naked without any Vessel, as they would a Stone. Such is the Nature of these Rivers.

Alexander having brought with him a large *Alexan-* Body of *Moors*, and a great Number of Bow-Men *der's Cow-* from the East, some out of the Country of the *ardice.* *Osroëni*, and some Deserters or Mercenaries from the *Parthians*; with these Auxiliary Forces he advances against the *Germans*; to whom this sort of Warriours is most formidable. For the *Moors* hurl'd Darts from a considerable Distance, and, being light-arm'd, attack'd and retreated with great Expedition: And the Archers seldom miss'd, tho' a great way off, the naked Heads and huge Bodies of the tall lusty *Germans*, as Marks very easy to be hit. But sometimes they came to close Action; and then the *Germans* were often a Match for the *Romans*. While he was thus employed, he, notwithstanding, thought proper to send an Ambassy to the Enemy to treat of a Pacification, and offer them all their reasonable Demands, and the additional Article of a prodigious Sum of Money. For the avaricious *Germans*, very fond of lucrative Treaties, always huckster a venal Peace with the *Romans*: Which made *Alexander* endeavour rather to traffick for a League

League with them, than run the Risque of War. But the *Roman* Soldiers took all this very ill, that he should lose so much Time, without attempting any thing great or glorious by Arms; but rather amusing himself in Chariot-Racing, and other idle Diversions, at a Time when the Insolence of the *Germans* called aloud for Chastisement.

Maximine
gains the
Love of
the Sol-
diery.

There was in the Army one *Maximine*; who came from a little Village in the inmost Part of *Thrace*, where the Natives are Mixt-Barbarians, and had, as was said, been a Shepherd-Boy; but when he grew up was lifted in a Troop of Horse, on account of his enormous Size and Strength: But afterwards, Fortune, leading him by the Hand, advanced him Step by Step thro' all the military Preferments, till she had raised him to the Command of Armies, and Government of whole Nations. This *Maximine*, by reason of his great Experience in Military Affairs, *Alexander* had set over the Youth in the Army, to instruct them in their Exercises, and make them fit for all the Services of War. Which Office *Maximine* executed with great Diligence; and won the Love of the Soldiers, by not only teaching them their Duty, but going before them himself in every thing that was commanded: So that they were not so much his Pupils, as zealous Imitators of his manly Courage. To this he added other popular Motives to gain their Affections, such as liberal Gifts, and Posts of Honour. Hence it was, that the young Soldiers, among whom was a great multitude of *Pannonians*, were mightily delighted with *Maximine's* brave and gallant Spirit; and scoffed at *Alexander*, as one ruled
by

by his Mother, and submitting the Administration of Public Affairs to the Power and Caprice of a Woman; and betraying an indolent and unmanly Spirit with regard to War. They hinted one to another, what a Loss had been sustained in the East through his Tardiness; and that, since he came against the *Germans*, he had not attempted one Action worthy a Man, or even a Youth.

Being therefore otherwise prone enough to Innovation; and thinking the Length of the present Reign added only to the Burthen, and afforded no great Hopes to their lucrative Views, as all Ambition was now exhausted; and hoping moreover, that a new Prince, who should come, beyond his Expectation, to the Supreme Power, would certainly be more grateful and liberal to his Benefactors; they resolved to dispatch *Alexander*; and declare *Maximine* Emperor and *Augustus*, as being their old Fellow-Soldier and Comrade; and one who, through his great Abilities, Assiduity, and Courage, appeared a proper Person to prosecute the War with Vigour. In pursuance of this Resolution, when they were assembled in the Plain, arm'd only for a Review, and *Maximine* came, according to Custom, to see them go through their Exercise (whether ignorant, or privy to their Designs, is hard to say) they gathered round him; and, clothing him in a purple Robe, saluted him Emperor. At first he refused the Offer, and threw off the Purple; but when they press'd upon him with their drawn Swords, and threaten'd to kill him; chusing rather to incur the future Danger than the present, he accepted the Honour; which, as he said, had

U

been

been often foretold to him, by Oracles and Dreams portending the high Fortune. He appeal'd to the Soldiers, that he had never fought the Sovereignty ; but had been prevail'd upon to receive it, tho' against his Will, by their pressing Importunities : Wherefore he enjoined them to confirm by Actions, what they had given in Words ; and, having taken up their Arms, to prevent even Fame itself, and advance upon *Alexander* before he had the least Information ; that, taking the Soldiers about him, and his Body-Guards, by Surprize, they might either persuade them to consent, or easily compel them, in case of Resistance, as they had come upon them unawares, and therefore unprovided. When he had excited their Alacrity, and confirmed their Affection, by doubling their Allowance of Provisions, promising them great Gifts and Donatives, remitting all their Punishments, and wiping off every Spot of Disgrace, he put them under Motion, and led them to the Head-Quarters not far off ; where was *Alexander's* Pavilion, and the Tents of all his Attendants.

Alexander
deserted
by his
Guards.

When the News was brought of *Maximine's* near Approach, *Alexander*, shock'd at the strange unexpected Accident, springs out of his Royal Pavilion, weeping and trembling like an Enthusiast. One while he exclaims at *Maximine's* Perfidy and Ingratitude, enumerating the many Favours he had conferr'd on him ; now charges the young Men, his Fellow-Soldiers, with Temerity, Perjury, and Treason ; and then offers to give them every thing they demanded, and to redress all their Grievances. The Soldiers, and Guards about him, all that Day shouted in his Favour ;

Favour; and attended him, promising to hazard their Lives in his Protection: But when the Night was spent, and Messengers arrived about Break of Day, that *Maximine* was at hand; that Clouds of Dust appear'd at a Distance; and that the Noise of no small Multitude was heard; *Alexander* came forth again into the Plain; and, having called the Soldiers together, intreated them to assist him; to protect his Safety, who had been brought up amongst them, and whose Government for fourteen Years had been unblameable. Thus endeavouring to move their Pity and Compassion, he bid them arm, and draw up in Order of Battle. The Soldiers at first, indeed, promised to stand by him; but soon after fell off by few and few; refusing to take their Arms: And some of them demanded to have the Prefect of the Camp, and *Alexander's* chief Favourites and Ministers, given up to condign Punishment; pretending that they had been the Cause of this Rebellion. Others said, his Mother was principally culpable; for that, being a Woman of insatiable Avarice, she hoarded up Treasure; and had render'd *Alexander* odious to the Army, by her clandestine Peculations, sordid Parsimony, and Aversion to Donatives. In these various Clamours they spent some Time, without stirring from the Place. But when *Maximine's* Army came in Sight; and exhorted their Brother-Soldiers to quit the Service of a stingy mean-spirited Woman, and a pusillanimous Boy, a Slave to his Mother; and to embrace the Cause of a Man of Honour and Conduct, one that was their Fellow-Soldier, and whose Life had been spent in Arms and martial Employments; they presently closed in with the Offer, and, deserting

Alexander, went all over to *Maximine*; and unanimously saluted him Emperor.

*Alexander's
Death.*

The poor trembling, fainting *Alexander*, with much Difficulty, returned to his Tent; and, hanging about his Mother, piteously lamenting (as they report) and upbraiding her as the Cause of this miserable Calamity, waited for the Coming of his Murtherer. Nor was it long before *Maximine*, being now unanimously saluted *Augustus* by the whole Army, dispatch'd a Tribune, with some Centurions, to murder *Alexander* and his Mother, and all about them that should dare to offer the least Opposition. The Officers arrived, broke into the Pavilion, and kill'd him and his Mother, with all whom they thought his Friends or Favourers; except some few, who found means to escape, or secrete themselves; but soon after were all apprehended by *Maximine*, and put to Death.

Such was the End of *Alexander's* Life, and his Mother's, after he had reigned fourteen Years, without Blood, and without Complaint, as to his Civil Government. For he was utterly abhorrent of Murther, Cruelty, and all illegal Acts; and always inclined to Humanity, and doing kind Offices: So that his Reign had been unblemished, were it not contaminated by the Avarice and sordid Meanness of his Mother.

HERODIAN.

BOOK VII.

THE Life of *Alexander* has been above A.D. 236. described; and the Manner of his Death, after he had worn **the Imperial Purple** fourteen Years.

Maximine, having obtained the Supremacy, made a sad Alteration in the Face of Affairs; executing the Power he had gotten with great Austerity, and reducing the Empire, from a calm mild Constitution of Government, to a cruel and bloody Tyranny. For as he knew he was disgustful to the People, because he had been the first advanced from the lowest Condition to this high Fortune; and was by Nature, as well as Birth, a Barbarian, having that Ferocity and Thirst of Blood so natural to his Race and Country; he resolved to establish his Power by Acts of Cruelty. This he thought incumbent on him; left the Senate, and all his Subjects, not looking to his present Grandeur, but reflecting on his obscure Birth and mean Parentage, might hold him in Contempt. For it was now whisper'd and rumour'd about among all, that he was formerly a Tender of Cattle on the Mountains of *Thrace*; and had

recommended himself, by his Bulk and Brawn, to be a common Soldier in his own Country; after which, Fortune, as it were, took him by the Hand, and lifted him by degrees into the Imperial Throne of the *Romans*. Wherefore, at his first Entrance upon the Sovereignty, he removed all the Friends of *Alexander*, and the Counsellors the Senate had chosen for him; some of whom he sent back to *Rome*, and others he deprived of their Office; pretending the Regulation of Affairs required this Reform. But his true Motive for it was, he chose to be alone in the Army, and, from a Consciousness of his mean Extraction, would have none about him who were superior in Blood; that, mounted, as it were, upon a Pinnacle of Power, with no Person of Dignity to awe him, he might have Opportunity to practise all the barbarous Acts of Arbitrary Power. He likewise dismiss'd from Court all *Alexander's* menial Servants, whom he had employ'd for so many Years; but put the greatest part of them to Death, as suspected of Treason, because he knew they secretly mourn'd the Loss of their Master.

A Con-
spiracy a-
gainst
Maximian.

But what more exasperated his Fury, and stirred him up to unbounded Cruelty, was the Information he had received, of a Conspiracy forming against him by several Centurions of the Army, in Conjunction with the whole Senate. There was one *Magnus*, a Man of Patrician and Consular Rank; who was charged with plotting Treason against him, and soliciting some of the Soldiers to make a Revolution of the Empire in favour of himself; which was said to be plan'd in the following Manner.

Maximian

Maximine had thrown a Bridge over the River, with a Design to march his Forces upon the *Germans*. For as soon as he had gotten the Power into his Hands, he immediately set about the Operations of War: Because, as he seem'd to be chosen to the Empire on account of his huge Size and Soldierly Strength, and his Experience in War, he was willing to confirm his Character, and the good Opinion the Soldiers had of his Abilities, by his Actions; and at the same time to shew, that *Alexander* had been justly rejected for his despicable Timidity, and Slowness in martial Enterprizes. From these Considerations, he never ceased disciplining and exercising the Army; and being always in Arms himself, he stimulated the Soldiers by his own Vigour and Assiduity. The Bridge then being finished, he made ready for passing over and attacking the *Germans*. But *Magnus* was accused with persuading no small Number of the Flower of the Army, and especially those who were posted to guard the Bridge, that as soon as *Maximine* was on the other Side, they should break the Bridge, and, by cutting off his Retreat, expose him to the Fury of the Barbarians. For the River was so deep and wide, that it was impossible he could cross it after the Dissolution of the Bridge, as there were no Vessels or Transports on the opposite Coast. This was the Sum of *Magnus's* Charge; whether true, or forged by *Maximine*, we cannot say: For 'tis hard to decide, where there was no Conviction; but the Accused, with all besides, who were but suspected of being privy to the Plot, were immediately seized, and cruelly murdered, without Proof, Trial, or so much as a Hearing.

Macedon's
Treache-
ry towards
Quarti-
nus.

There was likewise another Sedition raised among the *Osroënes*: Who, warmly resenting the Death of *Alexander*, and accidentally meeting with one of his Friends, *Quartinus* by Name, a Man of Consular Dignity, whom *Maximine* had dismissed from the Army, laid hold on him unawares; and compell'd him, against his Will, to become their Leader; and, attending him with the Ceremony of the Fire, and other pompous but fatal Honours, insisted to make him Emperor; though nothing could be more against his Inclination. But he was treacherously murdered in the Night, as he was asleep in his Tent, by one that was his Companion, and (as he thought) his Friend. This Man, whose Name was *Macedon*, had been formerly Commander in Chief of the *Osroënes*; and was the Author of the present Defection and Conspiracy against *Maximine*. Nor had he the least Cause of Enmity or Hatred against a Person, whom he first persuaded, or rather forced, into his Party, and afterwards barbarously murdered. For thinking he should wonderfully oblige *Maximine*, he cut off his Head, and carried it to the Emperor: Who, though glad enough of the Accident, that had rid him of one he judged his Enemy, yet disapproved the Baseness of the Action; and while *Macedon* was hoping some extraordinary Reward, he order'd him to be seized and put to Death, as the Ring-leader of the Rebellion, the Murderer of a Man he had forced into his Measures, and the base Betrayer of profess'd Friendship.

Such Incentives as these more and more enflamed the barbarous Spirit of *Maximine*, naturally prone to Revenge and Cruelty. His Coun-
tenance

tenance was stern and formidable; and the Size of his Body was so vast, that he could hardly be match'd by any one of the most athletic *Greeks*, or the stoutest and most pugnacious Barbarians.

Having settled the above-mention'd Di-^{*Maximine*}sturbances, he put himself at the Head of his ^{penetrates}Troops, and marched fearless over the Bridge, ^{into the}in order to attack the *Germans*. He had a nu- ^{Enemy's}merous Army, consisting of almost all the *Roman* Power, a great Number of *Moors* excellent at the Dart and Bow, besides *Ostroënes* and *Armenians*, some of whom were his Subjects, others his Allies and Auxiliaries, and all the *Parthians* in the *Roman* Service, whether Mercenaries, Deserters, or Captives. This promiscuous Multitude had been first collected by *Alexander*, and augmented and disciplined by *Maximine*. But the Dart-men and Archers seemed the best qualified to annoy the Enemy, as they attack'd with incredible Expedition, before the *Germans* were aware, and retreated again with equal Activity. *Maximine* advanced a great way into the Enemy's Country; and meeting no Opposition (for the Barbarians retired at his Approach) he laid Waste all the Fields, especially those of Corn, which was then ripe; set fire to the Villages; and permitted his Soldiers to ransack and plunder without Molestation. For the Cities and Habitations of the *Germans* are easily destroyed by Fire, as they have very few Stones or Bricks, but build chiefly with Timber, their Woods being exceedingly thick of Trees; which they fell; and, joining and fastening them together, frame a kind of Tabernacles. In this hostile manner *Maximine* preceded through great part of the Country, driving

driving off the Cattle, and giving all the Herds they met to his Army. For the *Germans* retired from the champain Parts, and every Place that was naked of Trees, and hid themselves in the Woods, and remained about the marshy Grounds; that they might sally upon the Enemy, or engage them in these unequal Places; where the thick Shrubs would be a good Covering from the Darts and Arrows, and the Depth of the Morasses must be very dangerous to the *Romans*, who were entirely Strangers to the Nature of the Places; but, on the contrary, themselves could easily run through them, as they were well acquainted with the Country; knew what Parts were unpassable, what hard; and usually ran through the Dirt and Water up to their Knees. Besides, the *Germans* are very expert Swimmers; for they use no other Baths, but open Lakes and Rivers.

The memorable
Battle in
a Marsh.

This part of the Country, therefore, was the principal Scene of Action; and here the Emperor himself bravely began a Battle. For having attack'd the *Germans* near a vast and deep Morass, into which the Enemy retreating, the *Roman* Troops were afraid to pursue, *Maximine* himself first rode into a Lake, that took his Horse up to the Belly; and made a great Slaughter among the Barbarians who resisted him; till the rest of the Soldiers, animated by his Example, and fearing the Reproach of deserting their Sovereign fighting in their Cause, plunged in to his Assistance. And now a general Battle ensued; where the Dispute was sharp and bloody. Great Numbers fell on the *Roman* Side; but the Barbarians lost almost their whole Multitude, the *Roman* Prince eminently signalizing

nalizing his Valour, till the Ponds and Bogs were filled up with dead Carcases, and the Lake red with Blood; so that the Battle of Foot-Forces, fighting in a Morass, afforded a lively Representation of a Sea-Engagement.

The Battle ended, *Maximine* not only dispatch'd Letters ^a to the Senate and People, with a particular Detail of the Action, and Account of his own Prowess; but had the whole Battle painted in large Figures, and hung up before the Senate-house; that the Citizens of *Rome* might entertain their Eyes, as well as Ears, with the Description of what had been atchieved. But this Piece, with all the rest of his Images and Statues, were afterwards pulled down by the Senate.

There were several Battles after this; in which he won great Honour, exposing his own Person, and attacking the Enemy with Sword in Hand : A.D.237. *Maximine* winters at *Sirmium*.

^a The Contents of one of these Letters are published in the Life of *Maximine* written by *Julius Capitolinus* (which Life is little else than an Abridgment of this part of *Herodian's* History, in Low *Latin*.) The Copy was transcribed from *Cordus*; who affirms, it was dictated by *Maximine* himself. And, as the first-mention'd Author observes, there is no Reason to suspect it spurious; since there is nothing in the Style of the Letter, but what *Maximine*, tho' a Semi-Barbarian, might be capable of writing. The *Latin* runs thus;

Non possumus tantum, P. C. loqui, quantum fecimus. Per 400 millia Germanorum vicos incendimus, greges abduximus, captivos abstraximus, armatos occidimus, in palude pugnavimus. Pervenissemus ad sylvas, nisi altitudo paludum nos non permisisset.

We cannot, Conscript Fathers, say so much, as we have done. For the space of 400 Miles we have fired the Villages of the Germans, driven off their Cattle, carried away the Captives, killed the Warriors, and fought in a Morass. We would have penetrated into the Woods, but the Depth of the Marshes would not let us pass.

But

But as the Season of the Year was far advanced, he thought proper to lead the Army into Winter-Quarters; and, carrying off the Prisoners and Plunder, returned to *Pannonia*. He resided all the Winter at *Sirmium*, a large City in those Parts; where he made the necessary Preparations for the ensuing Campaign; threatening (and 'tis probable he might have perform'd it) to cut off and reduce all the *German* Nations as far as the Ocean.

His Glory
in War
sullied by
his great
Cruelty.

Thus great was *Maximine* in Feats of Arms; and would have acquired immortal Praise, had not his Cruelty and Barbarity to his Subjects eclipsed his martial Glory. For what avail'd it to have cut off the Barbarians; when more Murthers were committed at *Rome*, and in the Provinces of the Empire? Where was the Advantage of taking Plunder and Captives from the Enemy; and then despoiling his Subjects of their lawful Properties? For, under him, free Toleration, or rather Encouragement, was given to Informers to do mischief, and prefer Indictments against Persons for Crimes, perhaps, of their Fore-fathers, never known or detected to that Day. Nor was any one brought to the Bar by an Informer, but he was immediately cast, and stript of all his Fortune. So that you might frequently see Men of great Possessions one Day, reduced the next to Want, and begging for Bread; the dire Effects of his insatiate Avarice, supported by Tyrannic Power, under Pretence of supplying Moneys to distribute to the Soldiers. His Ears were always so open to every malicious Calumny, that he paid no Regard to Age or Quality; but, upon the slightest and most frivolous Slanders, would order Prefects

Prefects of Armies and Provinces, Men of Consular Dignity, and some of Triumphal Honours, to be seized, hurried upon mean Vehicles, without any Attendants, and dragged along, Night and Day, from the East or West, or, if it so chanced, from the most Southern Parts of the Empire, to *Pannonia*; where he commonly resided; and there having degraded and stript them of all they possessed, he condemned them either to Death or Banishment.

As long as he practised these Cruelties upon single Persons, the Calamities, being confined to the Sufferer's Family, did not much affect the Cities and Nations as Collective Bodies. For the Distresses of the Great and Wealthy are not only not regarded by the Populace; but oftentimes Men of evil Minds, and malicious Spirits, rejoice in their Misfortunes; envying the Prosperity of those who seem happier than themselves. But, after having reduced many illustrious Families to Beggary, not content with private Rapines, which he thought inconsiderable and trifling, he broke in upon the Public Funds; seizing into his own Possession all the City-Stocks, either reserved against a Dearth of Provisions, or collected for the Use of the poor Citizens; with whatever Sums had been set apart for the Support of the Theatres and other popular Diversions. All the consecrated Gifts of the Temples, the Effigies of the Gods, the Statues and Armory of Heroes, the curious Pieces of Workmanship in Public Buildings, the Decorations and Ornaments of the City; in a word, every thing composed of valuable Metals was melted down, and turned into Money. This stung the People with Vexation, and caused an uni-

universal Mourning, to see the City ranfack'd and enduring all the Evils of a hostile Siege, without War, and without Arms. Some of them were brave enough to resist, and attempt the Defence of the Temples; chusing rather to die before the Altars, than to stand and see their Country ravaged. Hence arose great Confusions thro' all the Cities and Provinces; and the Hearts of the Commonalty swell'd with Resentment. Nor, indeed, did the Soldiers themselves much like what was done; being perpetually reviled and upbraided by their Relations and Families, as they for whose Sakes *Maximine* did all this Mischiefe.

Such Causes as these, far from frivolous or unreasonable, stirred up the Multitude to Hatred; and made them eager to revenge themselves by Rebellion. But as yet they only prayed and invoked the injured Gods: But none of them had Courage enough to begin the Deliverance; till, after three Years of *Maximine's* Reign, the *Libyans* first, upon a very trifling Occasion (as the Affairs of Tyrants are always slippery) took up Arms, and raised a Rebellion on the following Account.

A.D. 239.
The Re-
bellion in
Africa.

The High-Steward^b at *Carthage* exercised his Judicial Power over that Country with all the Extremities of Rigor, Oppression, and Cruelty;

^b These Officers the *Romans* call'd *Procuratores fisci*; *Proctors* or *Procurators of the Fiscus*; which was a Revenue appropriated to the Maintenance of the Emperor and his Family; as the *Ærarium*, or public Treasury, was for the Support of the Government. Sometimes the Person vested with this Office is call'd *Procurator ad rationes*, *A Procurator to the Accounts*; sometimes *Procurator rationalis*, *Proctor-Accomptant*; and often, in the Low *Latin*, *Rationalis*, *Accomptant*. In the Times of the Consuls, the Ma-
nagement

extorting great Sums of Money, in order to purchase the Favour of the Prince with the Ruin of the People. For *Maximine* always took care to fill all Places of Trust with Men

nagement of the public Accompts was committed to Urban, and Provincial, *Quæstors*. The City-*Quæstors* presided over the Treasury at *Rome*; and dispensed the *Lautia*, or splendid Presents bestowed on Foreign Ambassadors; for whose Entertainment they provided at the Charge of the Public. Their Office was merely Civil, having nothing to do with the Army, but only to issue out of the Treasury the Military Standards, &c. for the new-raised Legions, when the Consuls were going on any Expedition. But the Provincial *Quæstors* went with the Consuls, or Pretors, and had their Residence with the Governors of the several Provinces. Sometimes they had the chief Command of Armies, in the same manner as the Legates, during the Absence of the Consul, or Pretor: But their ordinary Office was to pay the Army; and to regulate the Collections of Money, Corn, and other Tributes imposed on the conquer'd Nations. These Tributes they often lett out to farm; and the Persons who farmed them were call'd *Publicans*: Of whom we frequently read in the New Testament. *Tacitus*, Ann. l. xi. c. 22. says, they were first instituted in the Time of the Kings. Their Number was at first but two; but increased in After-ages, till *Julius Cæsar* (according to *Dio*, l. xliii.) made no less than forty *Quæstors*. But those modern Authors are mistaken, who make the Office of the *Quæstors* similar to that of the *Procurators*. The former was very agreeable to the *Roman* Constitution; but the latter was look'd on as a tyrannous Encroachment on their Remains of Liberty, and was odious both to Citizens and Provincials. The *Procurators* of the City superintended the Collection of the Crown-Revenue, arising not only from the Confiscation of the Fortunes of all who were judged Traitors to the Emperor, and the heavy Fines exacted from *Jews*, *Christians*, and other Dissenters from the Religion by Law established; but also from Imposts, Tolls, and Duties laid on Carriages, Commodities, &c. They are mentioned a little further on in this same Book; where our Author tells us, they were drag'd and kill'd by the People, as Instruments of Extortion under *Maximine*. The Provincial *Procurators* supervised the Confiscation of Effects, and
the

of his own Principles. And all the Overseers of the Revenue, even tho' it happened (which was but very rare) that they were Men of tolerable Honesty, fell into the same iniquitous Measures; and, through Fear of the present Danger, and well knowing his unbounded Greediness, imitated, tho' unwillingly, the Actions of the rest. This High-Steward then of *Libya*, among other Acts of Violence, having fraudulently condemned some young Men of good Birth and Fortunes, endeavour'd to extort Money from them; and to strip them of all their Patrimonies, the ancient Inheritances of their Fore-fathers. Which the young Gentlemen bearing very hardly, promised to bring him the Sums demanded, if he would only indulge them with three Days time: In which Space they formed a Conspiracy of all, who either had suffered, or were afraid of suffering, the like Oppression; and ordered all their Servants in the Country to come to them in the Night with Clubs and Pick-axes.

the Collection of the several Taxes, Excises, &c. imposed on the Provinces for Supplies to the *Fiscus*, in the same manner as their Brother-Officers in the City. But though the Power of the City-*Quæstors* over the public Treasury was discontinued by *Augustus Cæsar*, restored by *Claudius*, and taken quite away by *Nero*; yet in the Proconsular Provinces (of which *Africa* was one, as we shall shew in the next Note) the ordinary Tributes and Taxes were superintended by *Quæstors*, according to the ancient Constitution; and the Money collected by them was applied to the Payment of the Army, and the Surplus brought into the public Treasury. At this Time then there were in *Africa* both a *Procurator fisci*, for the Revenue of the Emperor; and a *Quæstor*, for the Treasury, residing with the Proconsul; as we read in the Sequel.

The Vassals readily obeyed their Lords Commands, and came together into the City before Break of Day, hiding under their Clothes such extemporary Arms as they could furnish themselves with in the Fields. A prodigious Multitude was soon collected; for *Libya*, being a very populous Country, employed a great Number of Husbandmen. As soon as it was light, the young Gentlemen came, and ordered their Servants to follow them with seeming Carelessness, as if they belonged to the rest of the Croud; but not to discover their Arms, till any of the Soldiers or People attempted to seize their Masters for what they should do; then to make a vigorous Resistance. Themselves, with their Daggers conceal'd in their Bosoms, proceeded to the High-Steward's Hall, as if they were going to treat with him about the Payment of the Money; and, rushing upon him unawares, stab'd him. Upon which, the Guards drew their Swords, and endeavour'd to revenge his Death; but the whole Multitude of Rustics pull'd out their Clubs and Pick-axes, and, bravely fighting for their Masters, in a little time put the Soldiers to Flight.

Matters having thus far well succeeded, the young Gentlemen, knowing themselves engaged in a desperate Cause, from which there was no receding, concluded, their only means of Safety consisted in vindicating one bold Attempt with a greater. They therefore resolved to make the Governor of the Province of their Party, and solicit the whole Nation to a Revolt: Which they knew was a thing universally wish'd, and only impeded by the Terror of *Maximine's* Power.

The Pro-
curator
kill'd.

The Mal-
contents
fly to Gor-
dian.

Accordingly, they came to the Proconsul's^c House about Mid-day, attended by all the Multitude. His Name was *Gordian*, an old Man, to whose Lot the Proconsulate fell when

^c The ingenious and learned *Salmasius* very judiciously distinguishes between *Proconsular* Provinces, and *Consular*. The former, he observes, were such as were ruled by Governors after their Consulships; who obtain'd them by Lot, according to the ancient Institution of the *Romans* in their Republican State. Every one, tho' but moderately versed in the *Roman* Affairs, knows, that Consuls and Pretors, after the discharge of their respective Offices at *Rome*, had Provinces allotted them to govern for a certain Time: After which they were succeeded by others of the like Dignity, who obtain'd these Provinces by Lot. This Custom was in some measure kept up, after the *Roman* State became subject to Monarchs: For *Augustus Cæsar* continued to let the Consuls and Pretors preside over the Provinces, as usual, after the Discharge of their Consulates and Pretures; and these were call'd indiscriminately *Proconsular* Provinces, even tho' they were governed by Persons of no higher Rank than the Pretorian: For we often read of Proconsuls, who had never been Consuls. But upon the subduing more Nations, and forming new Provinces, *Augustus* sent *Legates*, of his own chusing, of Consular or Pretorian Dignity, to govern them, without any regard to Lot as before. These new Governors, if they had been Consuls, were styled *Consular Legates*; if only Pretors, *Pretorian*; and sometimes *Legati Augusti Pro prætore*; *The Proprætorian Legates of Augustus*; and their Provinces were call'd *Consular*, or *Pretorian* Provinces. The same Distinction the later Emperors observed, permitting the old and peaceable Provinces to be obtain'd by Lot by the Consuls and Pretors: But sent *Legates* into the other Provinces; which they call'd the Emperor's own, in contradistinction to the *Proconsular* Provinces, which belonged to the People; and of which *Africa* at this Time was one; and *Gordian*, according to the ordinary Custom, was the Proconsul. However, upon any new Comotions, or sudden Emergencies, they altered these Forms, and made *Proconsular* Provinces *Consular*; and *vice versa*. Vide *Salmas. ad Jul. Capitol. in vit. Marc. Ant. Philosoph.*

he was eighty Years of Age; after he had been Ruler of several Provinces, and well tried in the Administration of very important Affairs. Which induced them to think, he would easily be prevail'd on to accept the Sovereignty, as the Summit of all his former Dignities; and that the *Roman* Senate and People would eagerly embrace such a Man for their Emperor, who was well born, and had advanced through several Posts of Government, as a gradual Ascent to this the highest.

It happened, that, the Day these Things were *Gordian* transacted, *Gordian* was residing, in leisure, at his own House; giving a short Respite to his Fatigues, and enjoying a Cessation from all kinds of Business. The young Men, with their Swords in their Hands, dispersed the Porters of the Palace, and broke into his Apartment; where they found him reposed upon a Couch; and, immediately gathering round him, threw the purple Robe over his Shoulders, and saluted him with *Augustan* Honours. *Gordian*, astonish'd at the Strangeness of the thing, and thinking it was some Treachery, and a Snare laid for his Life, leaps from his Couch, throws himself on the Ground, and prays them to spare an old Man, who never had done them any Injustice, and preserve their Faith and Affection to their Prince. But while they press'd on him with their naked Swords; and he, through Fear and Ignorance of what had happened, mistook their Design, being unable to conjecture the Cause of this sudden Fortune; one of the young Men, who was superior to the rest in Birth and Force of Eloquence, orders his Companions to be silent and have a little Patience; and, grasp-

ing his Sword by the Hilt, spoke to the old Man in the following manner.

The
young
Man's
Speech to
Gordian.

“ The Choice is this Day offer'd you of two
 “ very different Dangers ; the one impending,
 “ the other at a Distance ; the one apparent, the
 “ other yet hid in the dark Womb of Fortune.
 “ You must therefore resolve this Moment, ei-
 “ ther to undertake your own and our Preserva-
 “ tion, and to nobly trust that better Hope
 “ which we have already trusted, or die imme-
 “ diately by our Swords. If you embrace the
 “ present Opportunity, you are furnish'd with
 “ many Refreshments for the Way, to raise
 “ your Hopes, and inspire you with Courage.
 “ You will take off a *Tyrant* universally hated,
 “ and stop the raging Plague of Cruelty. You
 “ will add new Lustre to your past great Ac-
 “ tions ; and purchase to yourself a Name of
 “ Renown and everlasting Honour from the
 “ *Roman* Senate and the whole People. But if
 “ you deny what we ask, and refuse to conspire
 “ with us in this glorious Cause, Fate has fix'd
 “ this Day for your last. Behold us here pre-
 “ pared, first to put an End to your Life, and
 “ then to throw our own after, if Necessity re-
 “ quires. For we have already acted so daring an
 “ Exploit, that we are obliged to proceed even
 “ to the last Extremity of Despair. The wicked
 “ Minister of Tyranny lies dead ; and has suf-
 “ fered from our Hands the Punishment of his
 “ Cruelty : Wherefore if you cast in your Lot
 “ with ours, and become a Partner in the com-
 “ mon Danger, your Pains will be rewarded
 “ with the Imperial Dignity ; and the Deed we
 “ have already committed, shall, instead of Pu-
 “ nishment, receive Commendation.”—

While

While the Youth was speaking in this manner, the rest of the Multitude, seeing the whole City flocking to the Place (for they now had heard what had happened) could no longer contain, but again saluted *Gordian, Augustus*. He, tho' he pretended to decline the Honour, and desired to be excused by reason of his Age, yet, being naturally covetous of Glory, willingly enough accepted the Offer; chusing the future Danger before the present; and thinking that, as he was very old, and consequently could not expect to live many Years longer, it would be no great Loss, if he should happen to be cut off in the Enjoyment of Imperial Honours. And now the whole *Libyan* Nation was in a Tumult. They pull'd down all the Honours of *Maximine*, and adorn'd the City with *Gordian's* Pictures and Statues; and gave him the additional Surname of *Africanus*. For the *Libyans*, who inhabit the Southern parts of the Country, are call'd in the *Roman* Tongue, *Africans*.

Gordian, having staid a few Days at *Thystrum*, where these Things were transacted, bearing now the Title and Habit of Emperor, leaves *Thystrum* and hastens to *Carthage*; which he knew to be a great and populous City; where he might carry on Affairs, as if he was at *Rome*. For this City, in Wealth, Number of Citizens, and Largeness, is inferior to none but *Rome*; and contends for the second Place of Honour with her Rival *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. Hither he came, attended with all Imperial Pomp and Ceremony. All the Soldiers in the Place, and the tallest young Men of the City, march'd before him, arm'd with Spears, in the same man-

Gordian
accepts
the Impe-
rial Ho-
nours.

moves
from *Thy-*
strum to
Carthage.

ner as the Life-Guards before Emperors at *Rome*; and the Laureat Rods were carried before him, which is the great Mark of Distinction between the Emperor's Honours and those of inferior Magistrates; nor was the Ceremony of the Fire omitted in the Procession: So that *Carthage* shone out with a short Eclat, and exhibited a lively Picture in miniature of the Splendor, Pomp, and Fortune of *Rome*.

He dispatches
Letters to
Rome.

Gordian presently dispatches Letters to every Person of Distinction at *Rome*; and writes to the principal Members of the Senate, the greatest part of whom were his Friends or Relations. He likewise sent public Letters to the *Roman* People and the Senate, signifying the unanimous Affection the *Africans* bore him; and at the same time took care to blame the Cruelty of *Maximine*, knowing it was the Object of their universal Detestation. He shewed all the Indications of Moderation and Gentleness; banishing the Informers, and giving Power to all who had been unjustly sentenced, to make a new Appeal; and recalling the Exiles into their own Countries. He likewise promised to give extraordinary Donatives to the Soldiers, such as none before had ever made, and large Congiaries to the People.

He
schemes
Vitalian's
Death.

Above all, he took care to have *Vitalian*, Prefect of the Camps at *Rome*, put to Death; a Man of the most savage Cruelty, a great Favourite of *Maximine*, and wholly devoted to his Service. But *Gordian*, suspecting he might make an obstinate Resistance to his Designs, and thereby deter the rest from vindicating his Cause, sends the *Quæstor* of the Province, a young Man of a daring Spirit, strong, and in
the

the Flower of his Age, and ready to undertake the most dangerous Task for his Sake, together with some Captains and a Party of Soldiers; to whom he gave Letters seal'd up in double Tablets, by which they use to convey their secret Dispatches to the Emperors. He orders them to enter the City before Day-light, and go to *Vitalian*, while he was busied about Actions of Judicature in the little private Office of his Judgment-hall; where he always examin'd, by himself, the Dispatches of Importance and Secrecy relating to the Preservation of the Emperor; and to pretend, they had secret Letters for *Maximine*; that they were sent by somebody on a Message, which nearly concern'd the Emperor's Safety; and therefore that they desired to have an Opportunity of speaking with him in private, and declaring the Contents of their Dispatches; which being granted, to step to him, while he was taken up in examining the Seals, as if they were going to speak something, and stab him with their Daggers; which they were to carry conceal'd in their Bosoms for that Purpose.

This Scheme had its desired Success. They *Vitalian* came upon him while it was dark, it being his ^{taken off.} usual Custom to come out before Break of Day; and had the good Luck to find him in a manner alone, being only attended with a few Persons: For some were not yet come; and others, after attending his Levee, and paying their usual Compliments, were gone before Morning. Every thing therefore being very quiet, and only two or three Persons standing before the Office-door, they began their Errand as above related, and were easily admitted. They pre-

sently produced their Letters ; and while he was poring very earnestly upon the Impressions of the Seals, they drew out their Poniards, and, having stab'd him to Death, immediately sprang out, flourishing their naked Weapons at the Standers-by ; who soon retreated in a great Fright, thinking the Deed was done by *Maximine's* Order ; inasmuch as he often acted in this manner, even with those who were esteem'd his best Favourites. From thence they proceeded thro' the *Holy Street*, produced *Gordian's* public Letter to the People, and delivered all their other Dispatches to the Consuls and the rest ; at the same time spreading a Report, that *Maximine* also was taken off.

Gordian
and his
Son de-
clared
Emperors
by the Se-
nate.

Which Rumour prevailing, presently all the People ran up and down the Streets like so many Enthusiasts. For though the Vulgar of every Nation are fond of Innovations and Revolutions of Government ; yet the *Roman* Populace, consisting of an infinite Number of all sorts of People, a miscellaneous Multitude from every Quarter of the World, are more inconstant and fantastic in their Opinions, than those of any other Country. The Statues, Pictures, and every other Token of Honour erected to *Maximine*, were soon pull'd down ; and that hidden Hatred, which lay suppress'd by Terror, was now vented without Fear, Check, or Moderation. The Senate assembled ; and, tho' they had no certain Information about *Maximine*, yet conjecturing, by the present Face of Affairs, what would ensue, abolish'd all his Honours, and declared *Gordian* and his Son Emperors. As many of the Informers and Accusers as could be apprehended, were kill'd by those

those who had suffered through their Indictments; and the rest fled out of the City. The Procurators^d and Justices, Ministers and Agents of *Maximine's* Cruelty, were dragged by the People, and thrown into the Common Sewers. Innumerable Murthers were committed; and many innocent Persons were sacrificed to private Resentments. For they, who were involved in Debts, entangled in Suits of Law, or chagrin'd by any other little Causes of Hatred, broke into the Houses of their Creditors, Adversaries, or Enemies; and, under pretence of taking Vengeance of them as Informers, robbed and murdered whomever they thought fit. Thus, under the specious Pretext of securing Peace and Liberty, they acted all the dire Effects of a Civil War. Even the Prefect of the City, *Sabinus* by Name, a Man that had gone through many Offices of Consular Dignity, lost his Life in the Riot: For while he endeavoured to hinder their Proceedings, they dash'd out his Brains with a wooden Club.

While the People were in this Disorder, the Accounts Senate, fully resolved to break through all of the Revolution Danger, and apprehensive of the fatal Effects of *Maximine's* Resentment, did every thing to stir up the Nations to rebell against him. They sent their chief Members, and the most honourable of the Equestrian Order, Envoys to the Governors of the several Provinces, with Letters signifying their own and the People's Sentiments, and exhorting them to assist their common Country, and the Grand Council of the *Roman* Empire; to persuade the Nations to

^d See the Note ^b, Page 276.

persevere in their Duty to the *Roman* People, to whom, as a public Body, the Power anciently belonged; and whose Friends and Subjects they were, from the Time of their Forefathers. Most of the Governors acceded to the Resolutions of the Senate, signified by the Envoys; and having prevailed upon their Provinces to revolt (which was no hard matter, by reason of the Hatred they bore to *Maximine's* Tyranny) they seized and put to Death such of the great Officers as were in *Maximine's* Interest, and went immediately over to the *Romans*. But some few Governors either kill'd the Envoys, or sent them under strong Guards to *Maximine*; who presently condemned them to Death by the most exquisite Tortures his Cruelty could suggest. Such was the various State and Sentiments of the *Romans* at that Time.

Maximine
much de-
jected at
the News.

Maximine, having received perfect Information of what had been done, was much cast down and perplexed with Cares; tho' he pretended to despise the Danger. The first and second Days he continued quiet at Home, and only consulted with his Friends about what was to be done. The whole Army, and all the Inhabitants on that side the *Save*, tho' no Strangers to the News that had been brought, and affected at the bold and wonderful Actions related, yet conceal'd their Sentiments; nor did any one speak to another about the News, or so much as pretend to know any thing of the matter. For so great was the Terror of *Maximine*, that nothing escaped his Knowledge; and not only the Voice and Words of all, but even the very Motions of their Eyes, were watched. The third Day he ordered all the Army to assemble
in

in a Plain before the City; where he came forth, with a Paper in his Hand, containing a Speech composed by some of his Friends; which, having mounted the Rostrum, he read to the Soldiers. It was written much in the following Terms.

“ Tho’ I question not but the Things I am
 “ going to relate will seem strange and incre-
 “ dible; yet they are such as, in my Opinion,
 “ merit rather our Contempt than Surprize; and
 “ are not so worthy our Wonder as our Laugh-
 “ ter. Arms are taken up against you, and
 “ your manly Valour challenged to the Trial;
 “ not by the *Germans*, whom we have so often
 “ conquer’d; not by the *Sarmatians*, who are
 “ every Day our Supplicants for Peace: Even
 “ the *Persians*, who but lately were overrunning
 “ *Mesopotamia*, are now very quiet, and think
 “ themselves happy enough to enjoy their own,
 “ being taught the Danger of raising Disturb-
 “ ances, by the Renown of your Arms, and
 “ the Greatness of my Actions, which they al-
 “ ways found sufficient to withstand their ut-
 “ most Efforts, while I commanded the Camps
 “ on the Banks of those Rivers. But not to
 “ keep you longer in suspense, and by these
 “ Comparisons make the Matter more ridicu-
 “ lous; The *Cathaginians*, forsooth, are grown
 “ mad; and have either persuaded or forced a
 “ poor miserable old Creature, at the very Ex-
 “ tremity of Feebleness and Dotage, to mimic
 “ the Pomp of Majesty, and act a kind of Pa-
 “ geant-Emperor. For on what Army do these
 “ Madmen rely; with whom Lictors and Ser-
 “ jeants are sufficient Ministers of the Procon-
 “ sulate? What Arms do they bear, with
 “ whom

His
 Speech
 read to
 the Army.

“ whom there are no other Weapons, than a
“ few Javelins to stick wild Beasts with in their
“ Public Diversions? The only War-Exercises
“ they understand consist in dancing Choruses,
“ farcastic Jest, and musical Rhythms. Nor
“ let any of you be alarm’d at the News of
“ what has been done at *Rome*; I mean the
“ Murther of *Vitalian*; who was surprized by
“ Craft and Treachery. For you are no Stran-
“ gers to the Fickleness and Levity of the *Ro-*
“ *man* Populace. You know how stout they
“ are, as far as Uproar and Clamor may be
“ call’d Stoutness; but let but two or three
“ arm’d Men appear against them, they imme-
“ diately thrust and trample over one another,
“ every one flying to escape his own Danger,
“ and leaving the public Cause to shift for it-
“ self. Or if any one has inform’d you of the
“ Measures the Senate has taken; wonder not
“ if our strict and regular Conduct to them ap-
“ pears harsh, and they prefer the loose indolent
“ Morals of *Gordian*, so exactly similar to their
“ own: For they call manly and reverend
“ Actions terrible; and, through their Lust of
“ Pleasure, garnish a dissolute revelling Course
“ with the fine Titles of Meekness and Good-
“ nature. Hence it is, that my circumspect
“ and orderly Government is odious to them;
“ and they are charm’d with the Sound of *Gor-*
“ *dian*’s Name; whose infamous Life is to you
“ no Secret. These then are the Enemies with
“ whom you are to contend in a War, if any
“ one think it worthy that Name: For I am
“ persuaded that the greatest part of them, the
“ Moment we enter *Italy*, will meet us with
“ supplicatory and pacific Branches; and, with
“ their

“ their Children in their Hands, fall prostrate
 “ at our Feet; while the rest shall fly, like
 “ scandalous Cowards, leaving their Estates and
 “ Fortunes, for me to distribute, and for you
 “ to receive without Fear, and to enjoy as the
 “ Fruits of your Service.”

When he had uttered this Speech, and thrown out many bitter Invectives, in scurrilous Obloquy, against *Rome* and her Senate; tossing about his Hands into threatening Postures, with terrific Nods and wrathful Looks, as if he was enraged with them who were present; he gives Orders for a March into *Italy*. After distributing large Sums of Money, and intermitting one Day, he sets out at the Head of a numerous Army, consisting of all the *Roman* Forces, and a great multitude of other Soldiers; among whom was no inconsiderable Number of *Germans*, whom he had subdued by Arms, or brought over as Allies and Auxiliaries. He likewise took with him all the War-Engines and battering Ordnance, and other Things he had prepared against the Barbarians; and made but slow Marches, by reason of the great Supply of Carriages, and other Necessaries, continually brought him from every Quarter. For, as this Expedition to *Italy* was sudden and unforeseen, he had no Time to make the usual Preparations, but furnish'd the Army with what was needful, by a hasty and extemporary Collection. This made him dispatch the *Pannonian* Battalions, in whom he placed his chief Trust, because they first declared him Emperor, and always seem'd willing to hazard every thing in his Service, with Orders to advance before the rest

rest of the Army, and occupy the advantageous Places in *Italy*.

Capellian
marches
against
Gordian.

But while *Maximine* was on his March, his Affairs succeeded at *Carthage* beyond his Hopes. One *Capellian*, a Man of the Senatorian Order, was Governor of those *Moors*, under the *Roman* Jurisdiction, call'd *Numidians*. The Province is well fortified with Encampments, as a Guard against the Incursions and Ravages of the Barbarian *Moors*; whose prodigious Multitude inhabit the adjoining Parts; and therefore *Capellian* had with him a considerable military Force. *Gordian* had an old Grudge with this *Capellian*, occasion'd by a Difference they had formerly contested in Law; upon which Account, as soon as he had obtain'd the Title of Emperor, he sent a Successor to *Capellian*, and ordered him to depart the Province. But he, incensed at the Affront, and strictly devoted to *Maximine*, from whom he had received his high Post, having summoned the Army together, and persuaded them to keep their Oath of Allegiance to their Prince, marches against *Carthage*, with a great Number of stout Soldiers, in the prime of their Age, well armed, and furnished with every thing necessary to War; and, through their martial Experience gain'd in many considerable Fights with the Barbarians, fit to undertake the most important Battles.

The News of *Capellian's* Approach struck great Terror into *Gordian*, and very much alarm'd the *Carthaginians*; who, depending more upon Numbers, than good Discipline, for Victory, issued out of the City in an universal Multitude, in order to draw up and engage with *Capellian*.

But

But when *Gordian* saw him advance to the *Gordian's* City, the old Man (as some report) giving all Death. over for lost, as he perceived *Maximine's* Power was very great, and saw nothing in *Libya* sufficient to match it, fell into Despair, and hang'd himself.

However, his Death was concealed, and his Son chosen to head the Multitude; who drew up and engaged. The *Carthaginians* were much superior in number; but all raw, and ignorant of War, as they had been brought up in profound Peace; always indulging themselves in Feasts and Pleasures; destitute of Arms, or any Engines of War. Every one brought with him from Home a little Sword, or an Ax, with Javelins used for Hunting, or great wooden Stakes, burnt at the End, and sharpen'd into any Form the Owner could best make, or thought most effectual for the Guard of his Body. On the contrary, the *Numidians* were dextrous Darters; and such excellent Horsemen, that they rode without Bridles, and managed the Speed of their Horses only with a Rod. The *Carthaginians* therefore were soon defeated; for not being able to sustain the Violence of the first Attack, they threw down, what they call'd their Arms, and fled with Precipitation; thrusting, and trampling over one another in the Confusion: So that more died by their own Multitude, than were kill'd by the Enemy. *Gordian's* Son, with all that attended him, fell in the general Slaughter; which was so great, that no Distinction of the Dead could be made for Burial; nor could young *Gordian's* Body ever be found. For out of this routed Multitude, all that got again into *Carthage*, and escaped

escaped, by dispersing and absconding themselves up and down the City, which was very great and spacious, made but a small and inconsiderable Number : The rest crouded at the Gate ; and, striving every one to get in first, were all either stuck by the Darts of the *Numidians*, or cut to pieces with the Sword. The City rang with horrible Shrieks and Lamentations of Women and Children ; who saw their dearest Relations sacrificed before their Eyes.

Others relate, that old *Gordian*, who remained at Home by reason of his great Age and Weakness, being inform'd that *Capellian* had enter'd the City, and seeing every thing in a State of Desperation, went into his Room, as if he meant to repose himself ; and there took off his Girdle from his Waist, fasten'd it in a Noose round his Neck, and so finish'd his Life. Such was the End of *Gordian* ; who lived, the former part of his Life, in Prosperity and Honour ; and died, not without the Image, at least, of Imperial Sovereignty.

Capellian, having entered *Carthage*, put to Death the principal Persons, of the few, who had escaped from the Battle. He pillaged the Temples, and spared neither private nor public Treasures. After which he went to the other Cities, which had abolish'd the Honours of *Maximine* ; and, having put to Death their Magistrates and principal Inhabitants, sent the Commonalty into Banishment. The Fields and Villages he permitted his Soldiers to burn, waste, and plunder, under pretence of Punishment for their Treason against *Maximine* ; but his real secret Intent was to conciliate the Good-will of the Soldiery ; that if any Misfortune should
happen

happen to *Maximine*, he, at the Head of a strong and well-affected Army, might seize upon the Empire. This was the Posture of Affairs in *Africa*.

No sooner was the News of the old Man's *Maximus* Death brought to *Rome*, but the whole Senate and *Bal-*
 and People were in the last Embarrassment and *binus*.
 Dismay. For in *Gordian* alone center'd all their Hopes of Safety. They knew too well *Maxi-*
mine would have no Mercy : For he always had a natural Dislike to them ; but now had some Excuse for his Rage, and could call his Cruelty Vengeance upon his avow'd Enemies. It was therefore thought proper to assemble, and concert what Measures should be taken : And as they had already rush'd far into Danger, they resolved to declare for War ; and to chuse, by Suffrage, two fit Persons for their Emperors ; that, by dividing the Power, they might save the Government from relapsing again into Tyranny. To this end they assembled, not in their usual Court, but in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitoli-*
nus ; which is in the Citadel of the City, and held by the *Romans* in most religious Reverence. Here then they met in full Frequence ; and having shut themselves in from the Sight of all Spectators, in the sacred Chapel ; as if the God of the Place was to be their Witness, the Helper of their Counsels, and the Inspector of their Actions ; they chose out the most Illustrious of their Order, whom they preferr'd for Age and Abilities, and nominated them as Candidates for the Empire. This done, they proceeded to Voting ; when *Maximus* and *Balbinus* were elected by a great Majority, and accordingly
 Y declared

declared Emperors. *Maximus*^c had been Prefect of many Camps, and presided over the City with inflexible Integrity; was esteemed by the People a Man of Understanding, a great Genius, and a sober Liver. *Balbinus* was of Patrician Quality; had been twice Consul; and presided over several Provinces, without the least Complaint of his Administration; and was of great Plainness and Simplicity of Manners. These Two, therefore, the Senate declared elected^f; saluted each by the Title of *Augustus*; and decreed them all the Honours belonging to the Imperial Dignity.

The People oppose the Election.

But the People, during these Transactions in the *Capitol*, whether set on by some of *Gordian's* Friends and Domestics, or only excited by the Report of what was doing, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the Gates, block'd up the Avenue of the *Capitol* with the prodigious Croud, and, with Stones and Clubs, assaulted the Doors, resolved to oppose what the Senate had voted. They particularly excepted against *Maximus*, as an austere rigid Prefect. For he had often exerted his Authority, to suppress the

^c His Father was a Plebeian, by Trade a Coach-Smith. He presided over the City with great Applause, proving himself (says *Capitolinus*) a Prefect of the highest Prudence, Ingenuity, and Integrity.

^f When these Two were elected Emperors by the Senate, *Maximus* is reported to have said to his Colleague; *What, Balbinus, shall you and I acquire, if we destroy this most savage Monster* [Maximine?] To which *Balbinus* replied; *The ardent Love of the Roman Senate and People, and of the whole World.* But (rejoin'd *Maximus*) *I fear, we shall feel the Resentment of the Soldiery, and suffer Death* This *Capitolinus* quotes from our Author; but we find not a Word of it in any of the Copies or Editions now extant.

Info-

Insolence of the fantastick profligate Rabble. Upon which Account, they dreaded his Power, and objected against his Election; bawling out, and threatening to kill them. For they desired a Sovereign chosen out of *Gordian's* Family, that the Imperial Title might remain in his House and Name. *Balbinus* and *Maximus*, guarded by some young Men of the Equestrian Order and the Soldiers who were left at *Rome*, with Swords drawn, attempted to force a Passage out of the Capitol; but were hinder'd by the Clubs and Stones of the Multitude; till somebody put it into their Heads to deceive the People in this manner.

There was a little Child, Son of *Gordian's* Young Daughter, call'd after the Name of his Grand-^{*Gordian*} father. Dispatching therefore certain Mes-^{declared} sengers, they ordered the Boy to be brought. ^{*Cæsar.*} The Messengers, having found him playing about the House, took him upon their Shoulders; and, carrying him through the Multitude, shew'd him to the Croud, telling them it was *Gordian's* Grandchild, and calling him by that Name; in which manner they brought him into the *Capitol*; all the Multitude shouting with Joy, and strewing the Way with Leaves. When the Child was come, the Senate declared him *Cæsar*; (for he was incapable of being set at the Head of Affairs, by reason of his Infancy) and by these Means appeased the Rage of the People; who now permitted the new Emperors to pass unmolested to the Palace.

About this Time a very dreadful Calamity A.D.240. befell the *Roman* City, occasioned by the Rash-^{Civil War} nefs of two of the Senators. For the Senate^{at Rome.} being met, to consult about the present State

of Affairs ; some of the Soldiers left by *Maximé* in the Camp at *Rome*, who, being past Service, were borne upon the List of Invalids, and permitted to remain at home, came as far as the Door of the Senate-house ; where they stood among the rest of the Croud, without any Arms, and dress'd only in their Waistcoats and regimental Cloaks ; out of curiosity to hear the Debates of the House. At last, about two or three of them, more curious than ordinary to learn what was doing, while the rest were standing at the Door without, enter'd the House, and walked up beyond the Altar of *Victory*. Which being observed by one of the Members, named *Gallican*, a *Carthaginian* by Birth, who had lately been Consul, he, together with *Mæcenas*, another Senator, and of Pretorian Dignity, came up to the Soldiers (who, far from suspecting any Harm, had their Hands in their Bosoms under their Cloaks) and stabb'd them to the Heart with their Swords ; which they wore conceal'd in their Bosoms. For all the Senators, by reason of the present seditious turbulent State of Affairs, carried their Swords about them, some secretly, and some openly, to defend themselves, in case of any sudden Assault or Treachery of their Enemies. Thus the Soldiers, taken by Surprise, and incapable of defending themselves, fell down dead at the Base of the Altar. The rest, shock'd at the Fate of their Fellow-Soldiers, and fearing some Mischief from the Multitude, as they were all unarm'd, immediately fled. But *Gallican* runs precipitantly out of the Senate-house into the midst of the People ; and, shewing his Sword and Hand, yet reeking with Blood, exhorts them

them to pursue and cut off those Enemies to the *Roman* Senate and People; those Friends and Allies of *Maximine*. The People were soon persuaded; and, raising a Shout in Approbation of *Gallican*, pursued the Soldiers with all possible Speed, stoning them as they fled. But the Soldiers were too nimble for them, and got all into the Camp, without any other Detriment than a few wounded; and, having shut the Gates in haste, took up their Arms, and mounted the Walls, to defend the Camp.

Gallican, as he had already done so bold a Deed, persisted to blow up a Civil War, which proved fatal to the City. For he prevail'd upon the Croud, to break open the public Magazines and Armouries, and seize whatever Arms were there; which were kept more for Pomp than War; and every one to arm himself as well as he could. He likewise opened the Schools of the Gladiators, and led them all out, each in his proper Arms; and then seized all the Spears, Swords, Axes, and other warlike Weapons, he could find in any private Houses, or the Armourers Shops. The People also, like so many Madmen, catch'd up every Working-Tool they could lay hold on, that seem'd any way proper to maintain a Fight, and made it their Arms; with which they assailed, and beset the Camp; assaulting the Gates and Walls, as in a Siege. But the Soldiers, well experienced in Defences of this nature, poured their Volleys of Arrows and Missiles upon the Assailants, from behind the Battlements and their Shields; and, sticking them with long Spears, repulsed them from the Wall: Till, the People being quite spent, the greater part of the Gladiators wound-

ed, and the Evening coming on, it was thought proper to draw off. The Soldiers, seeing them turn'd, and going off with their Backs towards them, in a careless manner (as not thinking a few Soldiers would dare to follow so great a Multitude) opened the Gates on a sudden, and made a general Sally upon the People; in which the Gladiators were cut to pieces, and great part of the People crush'd to Death. But the Soldiers, not caring to pursue them to too great a Distance from the Camp, returned, and remained again within the Works.

This more incensed the Fury of the Senate and People. They now chose the most able Generals; and sent into every Part of *Italy* for Recruits. Nor was it long before all the Youth of the Country were got together, arm'd in the best manner the sudden tumultuary Occasion would allow. The greater Part of these was sent under *Maximus* to meet *Maximinc*, and give him Battle; and the Remainder left for the Guard and Defence of the City.

Not a Day pass'd without continual Skirmishes at the Walls of the Camp: But nothing decisive was done. The Soldiers made a vigorous Defence from the Works, wounding the Assailants, and often repulsing them with Loss. *Balbinus*, in the mean time, continued at home; and publish'd a Proclamation, intreating the People to come to a Reconciliation, and promising the Soldiers an Amnesty, and Remission of all Offences. But both Parties continued obstinate, and the Resentment rose higher and higher every Day; while the People were fired with Indignation, that so great a Multitude should be held in contempt by so few; and the
Soldiers

Soldiers exasperated at suffering from *Romans*, what they could only expect from Barbarian Enemies.

At last, when they had no Success in attacking The City the Walls, the General Officers held a Council ^{set on fire.} of War ; in which it was agreed, to cut off all the Aquæducts which conveyed Water into the Camp ; and so reduce them by Thirst. This Design was put into Execution, and all the Supplies of Water were diverted, their Passages to the Camp being stop'd and cut off. The Soldiers, seeing the dangerous Situation they were in, and reduced to the last Extremity, opened the Gates, and sallied out upon the Enemy. A bloody Battle immediately ensued ; in which the People were again routed, and driven quite into the City : When, finding themselves unequal to the Soldiers, in a regular standing Fight, they got up to the Tops of their Houses ; and, throwing down great Stones, Tiles, and other Shards, from the Roofs, greatly annoyed the Enemy ; who, being unacquainted with the Buildings, durst not attempt to mount after them. As the Houses and Shops were all shut up, the Soldiers set fire to the Doors and wooden Porches ; of which there are great Numbers in the City. The Flame soon communicated itself several ways at once through the greatest part of the City ; the Houses standing thick in the middle of the Streets ; and the chief part of the Materials being Wood : So that many rich and flourishing Families were reduced to Poverty, having lost all their magnificent and plentiful Effects ; valuable, either from the Profits arising from them, or for the Variety and Worth of the Things themselves.

No small Number of People perish'd in the Flames : For the Fire, being first kindled at the Doors, cut off all Possibility of Escape. The Goods of the Rich were carried off, as Plunder, by the Dregs of the Rabble ; who mingled themselves with the Soldiers for the sake of Pillage. And so great a part of the City was consumed by the Fire, as more than equal'd the Whole of any other of the largest Cities in the Universe.

In this calamitous State was *Rome* ; when *Maximine*, having completed his Route, arrived on the Frontiers of *Italy*. After performing Sacrifices at the Altars on the Confines, he prepared to enter the Country ; making the Army march under Arms and in good Order. But as we have related the Rebellion in *Africa* ; the Civil War at *Rome* ; and the Actions of *Maximine*, with his March to *Italy* ; the memorable Events which ensued, shall be the Subject of the following Book.

HERODIAN.

BOOK VIII.

IN the former Book are related the Actions A.D. 240. of *Maximine* after *Gordian's* Death; his March to *Italy*; the Revolt of *Africa*; and the Quarrel between the People of *Rome* and the Soldiers.

As soon as *Maximine* drew near to the Borders of *Italy*, he dispatch'd Scouts to search, whether there were any Ambuscades conceal'd in the Cavities of the Mountains, Thickets, or woody Places; while himself brought down the Army into the Plain, and form'd in the following Disposition.

The Infantry were ranged into a large quadrangular Battalion, not exactly square, but the Front longer than the Files, to take up the greater Extent of Ground; the Baggage, Beasts, and Carriages, were taken into the Center; and himself, with all the Life-Guards, brought up the Rear. The Troops of Cuirassiers, the *Moorish* Darters, and the Sagittaries from the East, cover'd the Wings. There was, besides, a great number of *German* Cavalry, that he brought with him as Auxiliaries: These he always placed in the most advanced Posts, to receive the first Attacks

The Disposition of *Maximine's* Army.

tacks of the Enemy ; not only because they were Troops of great Spirit and Courage in the Beginning of a Battle, but as they were Barbarians, and not so valuable as his other Forces, he took care to expose them first to Danger.

In this Disposition the Army march'd, with great Regularity and Caution, over the champaign part of the Country. The first Town of note they arrived at was *Ema*, situated at the Extremity of the Plain, before the Foot of the *Alps*. At his Approach, the Scouts and detach'd Parties came in with Intelligence, that the Inhabitants had deserted the Town, after setting fire to the Doors of the Temples and Houses, and taking with them, or burning, all the Provisions and Necessaries in the Fields or Magazines of the Town, and leaving nothing for the Subsistence of Man or Beast. *Maximine* was highly pleased at this News ; hoping the other Cities would do the same, and none would dare to abide his coming : But the Soldiers were very differently affected ; having dreadful Apprehensions of Famine, even at their first Entrance. The Army lay that Night, some in the open and partitionless Houses of the Town, the rest in the Fields ; and at Sun-rising advanced to the *Alps*. These huge Mountains are a Fortification raised by Nature to cover the Frontiers of *Italy* ; so high, that their Tops are enveloped by the Clouds ; and stretch'd along into so vast an Extent, that they inclose all *Italy*, reaching from the *Tyrrhene* Sea on the Right, to the *Ionian* Bay on the Left. They are covered with great numbers of Woods, exceeding thick. Their Entrances are very narrow,

Descrip-
tion of the
Alps.

row,

row, through the horrid Projection of vast abrupt Precipices, and the dangerous Asperity of the Rocks; which renders them unpassable, except where the ancient *Italians*, with incredible Labour and Difficulty, have dug several Passages, but so strait, that they admit but very few Persons at a time. 'Twas not without great Fear, that the Army attempted to pass these Mountains, expecting, the Eminences were occupied by Enemies, and the Ways beset to intercept them as they defiled. Nor were their Fears and Expectations, considering the Nature of the Place, unreasonable.

However, they gain'd the Passes without any *Maximine* Opposition; which made them descend into the ^{passes the} Plain with great Alacrity, skipping and shouting for Joy. *Maximine* now hoped to carry all before him; since the *Italians* had betrayed their Diffidence even of this natural Defence of their Country; where they might cover themselves from Danger, and lay Ambuscades; or, by occupying the Eminences, be able to annoy the Enemy from advantageous Posts. When they were come into the Plain, the Scouts arrived again with Intelligence, That *Aquileia*, one of the capital Cities in *Italy*, had shut up her Gates; and that the Battalions of *Pannonians*, which *Maximine* had ordered to advance before the rest of the Army, had invested the Place, and made several Attempts to take it by Storm, but without Success; that, despairing of carrying the Town, they had raised the Siege, and were sorely harra's'd in their Retreat, by the Enemy, with Showers of Arrows, Stones, and other Missiles. *Maximine*, stung with Indignation at the Officers of the *Pannonians*, as having behaved

behaved with ill Conduct, hastens, with his whole Army, against the City, hoping he should reduce it with little or no Difficulty.

Descrip-
tion of
Aquileia.

Aquileia was, before this (being a large City) very populous of its own Inhabitants. For being a maritime Port, and a public Mart of *Italy*, situated as a Frontier confining on *Illyrium*; 'tis the common Channel of Commerce, between the Merchant-ships, which arrive there from all Parts, and the Inland Nations: The former of which it loads with all sorts of Commodities brought from the Continent by Land, or River-carriage; and, in return, supplies the latter with such Necessaries, as their Countries but very scantily produce, by reason of the excessive Colds; especially Wine, of which the *Aquileians* have constant Plenty, their Country abounding in Vineyards; which they cultivate to great Perfection; and send the Produce, in large Quantities, to those Nations whose Lands are barren of Vines. Hence it was, that the City at that Time contained an innumerable multitude of People, not only Citizens, but Foreigners and Sailors; besides the great number of Countrymen, who had flock'd thither from the adjacent Towns and Villages, trusting to the Largeness and Strength of the City. For tho' the old Walls were, before this, very much ruined (inasmuch as the Power of the *Romans* needed neither Cities, Walls, nor Arms, in *Italy*; whose Inhabitants enjoy'd profound Peace, under the common Protection of the Empire) yet, as the present Necessity required, they had repaired the Walls, and strengthened them with additional Defences, by erecting Towers, Battlements, and Bulwarks. Having
forti-

fortified the City by these Works, and shut up the Gates, they assembled on the Walls, and kept continual guard Night and Day; whereby they made a gallant Defence, and repulsed the Enemy, every Assault they made. The Defence of the Place was committed to two Generals of Consular Rank, chosen out by the Senate, one named *Crispinus*, the other *Meniphus*. These had, with great Foresight, imported large Quantities of all sorts of Provisions, sufficient to enable the Place to sustain a long Siege. Nor was there any lack of Water; for the City abounded with Wells and Fountains; and a River ran all round the Walls, serving, at once, as a good Fossé against the Approaches of the Enemy, and a constant Supply of Water to the Besieged.

This was the Condition of the *Aquileians*, Ambassadors when *Maximine* received Advices that the City was shut up, and the Walls strenuously defended. He therefore thought it proper to send some Officers, in form of an Ambassy, to treat with them from before the Walls, and persuade them, if possible, to open the Gates. He had in his Army a Tribune, a Native of *Aquileia*, whose Children, and Wife, and all his Family, were block'd up in the City. This Man therefore he sent, together with certain Centurions; thinking, the Citizens would be easily prevailed upon by the Remonstrances made by their Fellow-Citizen. The Ambassadors approach'd to the Walls, and told the People, “ That *Maximine*, their common Sovereign, order'd them to lay down their Arms
 “ in Peace; and receive him, not as an Enemy;
 “ but a Friend. That it was much more to
 “ their

“ their Advantage, to spend their Time in Li-
 “ bations and Sacrifices, than in Murthers.
 “ That they would do well to regard the Pre-
 “ servation of their Country; which, if they
 “ persisted, must inevitably be laid in utter Ruin.
 “ That they had yet an Opportunity of accept-
 “ ing Mercy; for that the Emperor, out of his
 “ great Goodness, most graciously offer’d them
 “ a general Amnesty, and free Pardon for all
 “ their Offences; inasmuch as not they, but
 “ others, who had seduced them, were the
 “ Objects of his just Resentment.” This was
 the Substance of what they offered, bawling it
 out before the Walls in an audible Voice; so
 that all the People (except them who were
 guarding the Works in other Parts) being
 mounted upon the Walls and Towers, and
 keeping Silence, heard what was spoken.

Crispinus's
 Exhorta-
 tions to
 the *Aqui-*
leians.

Crispinus, fearing the fickle Croud might be
 prevail’d upon by these fine Offers, and, chusing
 Peace rather than War, open the Gates and
 surrender, runs all round the Walls, exhorting
 and intreating them, “ To persevere with For-
 “ titude, and resist with Bravery, and not to
 “ betray their Faith towards the *Roman* Senate
 “ and People; but to acquire the glorious Title,
 “ of the Saviours and Champions of *Italy*. Not
 “ to believe the flattering Promises of a perfi-
 “ dious deceitful Tyrant; nor to let fair Words,
 “ and specious Pretences, delude them into cer-
 “ tain Destruction. To bravely trust the un-
 “ known Fortune of War; that often gives the
 “ Victory over Multitudes to Few; and enables
 “ those, who seem the weakest, to overthrow
 “ them, who have the Reputation of much su-
 “ perior Strength and Valour. Not to be dis-
 “ couraged

“couraged at the great Number of that Ar-
 “my ; for that such as fight for another’s
 “Power, and know the Fruits of their Success,
 “if they should obtain any, are to be enjoyed
 “by others, enter the Contest with great In-
 “difference; considering, that themselves must
 “share in the Danger, but that the principal
 “Profits of the Victory are to be engrossed by
 “another Person: On the contrary, they who
 “fight for their Country, have better-grounded
 “Hopes in the Assistance of the Gods; since
 “they are not invading other Men’s Proper-
 “ties, but only protecting their own; and
 “therefore engage with greater Spirits, as they
 “are not set on by another Man’s Command,
 “but compelled by their own pressing Necessi-
 “ties; and, when the Victory is gain’d, the
 “Fruits and Emoluments are all enjoyed by
 “themselves alone.” Such Exhortations as these
Crispinus continually gave the People, addressing
 his Discourse, sometimes to single Persons, some-
 times to whole Bodies. And being, by Nature,
 a very venerable Personage, and adorn’d with
 all the persuasive Eloquence of the *Roman*
 Tongue, and a very worthy and moderate Go-
 vernor, he prevail’d with the People to persist
 in their Defence, and send away the Ambassa-
 dors without Success.

’Tis reported, that *Crispinus* was encouraged The God
 to this steady Perseverance in the War, by se- *Belis.*
 veral good Omens declared by the Divines and
 Soothsayers in the City; who, in all their Sa-
 crifices, found the Entrails of the Beasts to
 portend happy Events. For the *Italians* lay
 great Stress on this sort of Divination. And
 several Oracles had been utter’d by the God of
 the

the Place, foretelling Victory. This God the *Aquileians* worship with superlative Devotion, calling him *Belis*^s; whom they will have to be the same with *Apollo*. And some say, the Image of this Deity appeared several times to *Maximian's* Soldiers, in the Air, fighting in Defence of the City. Whether such an Apparition was really seen by any; or whether they raised the

^s We have before observed, in the Note ^cd, pag. 226. that from the *Hebrew* Word בַּלְּיָא *Baal*, a *Lord*, is derived the Name given to their principal God, by most of the *Asiatic* and *African* Nations. But it did not stop there; but spread far and wide among the *Europeans* also, even as far West as *France*, and our own Island; as appears from several ancient Inscriptions mention'd by Authors of *Antiquities*. The God of the *Aquileians*, here spoken of, is call'd *Belin*, or rather, according to the *Greek* Dialect, *Belis*: For *Herodian* seems to give the Word a *Greek* Termination, as his Learning reach'd no farther than his own, and the *Roman*, Letters. Whether this Deity was the *Sun*, or (as the *Latin* Writers speak) the *Jupiter* of the *Aquileians*, is indifferent: Nor is it of more Importance to know, whether they thought him Male or Female. All we shall remark at present is, that the Heathens, under the Name of *Baal*, worshipp'd One Supreme Being, whom they thought Lord of the Universe; nor were they able to give him a Title of greater or more awful Respect. *St. Paul* himself tells the *Athenians*, *Acts* xvii. 23. that it was the very same UNKNOWN GOD, whom they worshipp'd WITHOUT KNOWING (for so it is in the Original) that he declared to them. And a little after, (v 28.) he quotes a Passage of *Aratus*, a *Heathen* Poet, to enforce his Discourse; ΤΟΥ γὰρ γενέσθαι ἐσμέν. For we are the Offspring of HIM. That HIM in *Aratus* was Ζεὺς, or Ζῆν, *Jupiter*. The Term seems mere *Greek*; and is derived (says *Plato*) from Ζῆν, To live; *Jupiter*, in his *Greek* Name, signifying the Lord of Life. And that the *Jews* themselves worshipp'd God under the Name of *Baal*, or *Lord*, is plain from *Hosea* ii. 16. And it shall be in that Day, saith the Lord, thou shalt call me 'אִשִּׁי *Ishi*, my Husband; and thou shalt not call me any more 'בַּעֲלִי *Baali*, my Lord.

Report, to palliate the Shame of so great an Army yielding to a multitude of undisciplined Citizens, far inferior to them in Number, and to make themselves seem defeated by the Gods, and not by Men; is a Point I cannot determine: But sure I am, the Wonderfulness of the Event is sufficient to make one believe all things.

The Ambassadors being return'd from a fruitless Errand; *Maximine*, inflamed with Anger and Resentment, accelerated his Marches with all possible Expedition. But being come to a large River, about sixteen Miles from the City, he found its Channel very deep and wide. For the Season of the Year having thaw'd the Snows, which lay congeal'd, during the Winter, on the neighbouring Mountains, the Torrents had rush'd down the Steeps, and so considerably swell'd the River, that it was now render'd unpassable to the Army. The *Aquileians* had utterly demolished the Bridge; which was a Master-piece of Workmanship, built by the old Emperors, all of square Stone, and supported by Piers gradually increasing. Thus, destitute both of Bridge and Boats, the Army halted in much Dismay. Some of the *Germans*, quite Strangers to the Strength and Rapidity of the *Italian* Rivers, and imagining they glided along gently over the Plains, as the Rivers usually do in their Country, where the Slowness of the Currents makes them so easily freeze, were rash enough to plunge in with their Horses accustomed to swim; but were soon carried away by the Force of the Stream, and all perish'd in the Waters.

Maximine
throws a
Bridge a-
cross the
River.

For two or three Days, therefore, *Maximine* was forced to encamp; and having cast up Retrenchments all round the Camp, to guard against any Surprise, he continued on his Side the River, contriving how to throw a Bridge over it. As Timber was very scarce in these Parts, and no Boats to fasten together and make a Bridge, he was at a great loss; till some of the Carpenters came, and informed him there was a great number of round empty Tubs in the desert Fields, which the Inhabitants formerly kept for their own Use, and to supply Wine to such as wanted. These, being hollow like Boats, would consequently float, and might serve as good Pontoons, and easily be hinder'd from driving away with the Current, by fastening them together, and throwing Bavins of Brushwood upon them; over which might be a Laying of Earth and Gravel to a commodious Height; by which means, with a great number of Hands, he might soon raise a firm and uniform Bridge. This Design was put in execution; and himself being continually at the Head of the Work, it was not long before the whole Army pass'd the River, and advanced towards the City.

Descrip-
tion of the
Country
about *A-*
quileia.

Finding all the suburban Houses and Villages deserted, they began to destroy the Vineyards, and cut down and burn all the Trees about the Place; and, in a short time, defaced all the Beauty of that once delightful Country. For the Trees were ranged in regular Rows, equidistant and uniform; and the Vines growing between, and twining their luxuriant Tendrils round each other, form'd a sylvan Scene like a verdant

verdant Festival Theatre; the Beauty of which so charm'd the Sight, that the Spectator fancied the whole Country ornamented with rural Garlands. All these the Soldiers soon fell'd or rooted up; and then march'd on against the City.

The Army being much fatigued, *Maximine* The Siege of Aquilicia. thought proper not to open the Works immediately; but to sit down at a distance from the Walls, out of the reach of the Arrows. Having divided his Soldiers into Squadrons and Battalions, to invest the whole City, according to each Party's particular Orders; after giving them one Day's Rest, he began his Approaches with great Celerity. Machines and Battering Engines were applied; and the Walls attacked by main Force: In a word, no Form of Siege was left unattempted; and hardly a Day pass'd without several Assaults (for the whole Army invested the Place, and clos'd it in, as it were, with a Net) but they always met as stout and obstinate a Resistance. For the *Aquilicians* had shut up all their Temples and Houses, and brought their Wives and Children into the Bulwarks and Forts upon the Walls; where they all oppos'd and repell'd the Assailants; nor was there any Age exempted or judg'd incapable of joining in the Defence of their Country. But the Houses in the Suburbs, with the Redoubts, and Works without the Gates, were demolish'd by the Enemy, and the Materials converted into Machines of Approach. *Maximine* struggled Night and Day to make a Breach in some part of the Walls, by which he might pour in his Troops, sack the City,

and lay it desolate; that it should be no more a Habitation for Men, but a Defart for Beasts to graze in. For he thought, he could never procede to *Rome* with Honour, till this City, the first in *Italy* that durst oppose his Progreſs, was level'd with the Ground.

With this Reſolution both he and his Son, whom he had created *Cæſar*, rode continually round the Walls, exhorting, encouraging, promiſing, and even beſeeching his Soldiers, to carry on the Work with Spirit and Activity. But the *Aquileians* ſtill maintain'd their Poſts; throwing down Stones, and another kind of Ammunition, made by mixing Brimſtone, Asphaltos, and Pitch together in hollow Engines with long Handles. Theſe they had in great Numbers upon the Walls; and as ſoon as the Enemy approached, they ſet fire to the Combusti- bles, and let fly whole Vollicies at once; which diſperſed among the Soldiers like Showers of Fire; and the ſcalding Pitch, with the other Ingredients, entring by the naked parts of their Bodies, diffuſed itſelf further; till their Corſe- lets, and all the reſt of their Armour made of Iron, grew ſo intolerably hot, that they were obliged to throw them off; and their Bucklers and Arms, whatever was of Leather or Wood, took fire and were burnt. So that you might ſee the Soldiers diſarming themſelves; and the Arms thrown down on the Ground look'd like a Spoil, won rather by Artifice than by Valour. Hence great part of the Army was ruin'd, or maim'd; ſome loſt their Eyes; others had their Faces miſerably ſcorch'd; others their Hands; in ſhort, every part of the Body that was naked and expoſed to the Miſchief.

This Evil was accumulated with another : For the Besieged flung down lighted Torches, dip'd likewise in Pitch and Rosin ; the Extremities of which were pointed with Iron, sharp as an Arrow ; which, sticking to the Machines of Approach, communicated the Flames, and easily set the Machines on fire.

For the first few Days the Dispute seem'd tolerably equal, and the Fortune of the Fight inclined not much to either Side : But at length *Maximine's* Army grew tired ; and these Disappointments, so little look'd for, greatly sunk their Spirits. For they saw those, whom they supposed too weak to sustain one Day's Attack, not only hold out, but resist. On the other hand, the *Aquileians* continually gathered new Strength and fresh Spirits. The long Continuance of the Fight gave them, at once, Experience and Courage ; and they now began to despise the Army. They scoffed at the Soldiers, and insulted *Maximine*, as he rode round the Walls, abusing him and his Son in the most contumelious and scurrilous Terms. Which affrontive Treatment stung him to that degree, that he raved with Anger ; and, not being able to take Vengeance of the Enemy, he wreck'd his Spleen at his own Officers ; several of whom he punished, as having behaved cowardly or careless in their Attacks. But this Proceeding served only to make him more odious to the exasperated Soldiers, and more contemptible to the Enemy. It so fell out, besides, that the *Aquileians* were plentifully furnished with all kinds of Provisions and Necessaries, having providently brought into the City large Quantities of every thing that was needful or convenient

for the Support of Man and Beast ; and that the Army, on the contrary, were in the utmost Scarcity, having cut down all the Fruit-Trees about the Place ; and laid the Fields and Country waste before them. Wherefore some of the Soldiers, indeed, lay in slight temporary Tents ; but the greatest part, exposed to the open Air, endured the Inclemency of the Rains, and the Heat of the Sun ; and at the same time were distress'd by Famine, having no Magazines of Corn or Forage, and destitute of Supplies ; because the *Romans* had taken care to block up all the Roads of *Italy* with Walls and Gates ; and the Senate had sent Officers of Consular Rank, at the Head of chosen Troops, the Flower of *Italy*, to lay an Embargo on all kinds of Vessels, and keep a strong Guard at the Ports and Havens. By which means *Maximine* was an utter Stranger to every thing transacted at *Rome* ; for all the Roads, Paths, and By-ways, were diligently watch'd, that no one might pass without being examined. So that the Army that seemed to besiege, was, in reality, besieged itself. For they could neither take *Aquileia*, nor, if they raised the Siege, could they retire to *Rome*, for want of Transports and Carriages ; which were all seized and secured by the Enemy. Rumours were likewise spread, which, assisted by Suspicions, exaggerated Matters beyond Truth ; That the whole People of the *Romans* was in Arms ; That *Italy* universally conspired in the same Cause ; That all the *Illyric* and barbarous Nations, both of the Eastern and Southern Regions, were levying Forces, and making warlike Preparations ; and that the Destination of all these Armaments was

against

against *Maximine*, the common Object of their Hatred. These Reports intimidated the Army even to Desperation; who, at the same time, were distress'd with the Penury of all sorts of Necessaries, almost to Water itself; which they had only from the River before the City, and that corrupted with Blood and Carnage. For the *Aquileians* threw their Dead into the River, having no Room to bury them; and the Bodies of all that died in the Army, either by the Sword or Diseases, were committed to the same Receptacle, for want of sufficient Instruments to dig Holes for their Interrment.

The Army being in this Extremity of Distress and Dejection; while *Maximine* was re-<sup>*Maximine*
and his
Son assassinated.</sup> posing himself in his Tent, on a Day when there was a general Cessation of Arms, and every one was retired, either into the Camp, or the Post where he was station'd; the Soldiers belonging to the Camp at *Rome* under the *Alban* Mount, whose Children and Wives were left there, came to a Resolution to dispatch *Maximine*, and thereby relieve themselves from the Fatigues and Difficulties of a long and hopeless Siege; and not to suffer all *Italy* to be ruin'd, for the sake of an abdicated detested Tyrant. With this bold Design, they came, in a Body, to his Tent about Mid-day, the Life-Guards also conspiring with them; and having pull'd down his Images from the military Standards, as *Maximine* and his Son were coming out of the Tent, in order to talk with them, they refused to hear any thing he could say; but immediately kill'd them both; and after them his Prefect of the Camp, and all his favourite Friends. The Carcasses, after having treated them with all kinds

of Indignities, and trampling them under Foot, they expos'd as a Prey to the Dogs, and Fowls of the Air; but sent the Heads of *Maximine* and his Son to *Rome*. Such was the End of *Maximine* and his Son; such the Punishment inflict'd on them, for a wicked tyrannous Abuse of Power.

The *Aquileians* supply the Army with Necessaries.

The Death of the Emperor put the whole Army into the utmost Confusion. Nor was the Deed approved of by them all, especially the *Pannonian* Forces, and the Barbarians of *Thrace*; who first had presented him with the Imperial Purple. But as it was impossible to undo what was done, they were oblig'd by Necessity to put up with it, and to shew, at least, a seeming Approbation. Having therefore laid down their Arms, they went to the Walls in a pacific Manner; told the *Aquileians*, that *Maximine* was kill'd; and intreated them to open their Gates and receive them for Friends, who were Yesterday their Enemies. But the two Generals would by no means suffer the Gates to be opened; but exposing to their Sight the Images of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, and of *Gordian Cæsar*, adorn'd with Crowns and Laurels, they honour'd them with respectful Acclamations, first themselves; and then requested the Army to acknowledge, declare, and accept, with joyous Acclamations, the Emperors chosen by the *Roman* Senate; for that the two *Gordians* were now in Heaven, and among the Gods. They likewise open'd a Market upon the Walls; where the Soldiers might buy all sorts of Necessaries; Meat and Drink in abundance; together with Clothes, Shoes, and every thing else for the Use of Man, that an opulent and flourishing

flourishing City could afford. At which the Army were the more amazed, when they saw the Besieged had such Plenty of all Provisions; while they, on the contrary, labour'd under such pinching Want, that they must have perished, before they reduced a Place so well furnished with every thing that was needful. Thus they continued under the Walls, supplied from the City with all manner of Necessaries, of what Sort, and in what Quantity, every one required, and discoursing with the *Aquileians* with all the Freedom of Friendship and Amity; but the Form of the Siege still continued, as the Gates remained shut, and the Army encamping before the Town.

While Things were in this State at *Aquileia*, the Horse, that were sent from the Army with *Maximine's* Head, made all possible Dispatch; every City in their Way opening their Gates, and receiving them with Laurels, and all other Demonstrations of Joy. They pass'd the Lakes and Ponds between *Altinum* and *Ravenna* in Boats; and found *Maximus* the Emperor residing at *Ravenna*, and augmenting his Forces by the Junction of the pick'd-out Troops from *Rome*, the *Italian* Cohorts, and no small Number of *German* Auxiliaries sent him by the States, which had been long affected to his Interest, ever since he had the Command in their Country; wherein he behaved with great Honour. While he was thus busied in making Preparations to go against *Maximine's* Army; the Horse arrived with the Heads of *Maximine* and his Son, and the Tidings of Victory and Prosperity; and that the Army had acceded to the Sentiments of the *Romans*, and revered the Emperors

perors made by the Senate. No sooner was the Account heard, so much beyond their Hopes, but all the People repair'd to the Altars, and perform'd the Sacrifices of Thanksgiving; singing Songs of Victory, Victory gain'd without Blood or Battle! The Sacrifices ended, *Maximus* sent away the Horse to *Rome*, to carry the Account of what had been done, and shew the Head of *Maximine* to the Citizens.

*Maxi-
mine's
Head is
brought
to Rome.*

'Tis impossible to find Words to express the general Joy of the *Roman* People, when the Horse arrived, bearing aloft in public View the Head of their Enemy stuck on a Pole. Persons of all Ages and Conditions flew immediately to the Altars and Temples. None could be contained at Home. The whole Multitude ran about the City, transported with enthusiastic Rapture, congratulating one another, and flocking into the *Circus*, as if they were going to see the Entertainments of the Place. *Balbinus* himself sacrificed whole Hecatombs of Victims. Every Magistrate, every Senator, rejoiced with inexpressible Joy, as having averted the Ax continually impendent over their Necks. Messengers and Heralds, with Laurels in their Hands, were dispatch'd with the News to the several Provinces.

*Maximus
arrives at
Aquileia.*

Such was the Mirth and Festivity at *Rome*. In the mean time *Maximus* sets sail from *Ravenna*, and arrives at *Aquileia*, having passed the Lakes, which receive the *Po* and the Inundations of the neighbouring Morasses, and discharge themselves, by seven Mouths, into the Sea: Whence the Natives of the Place call that Collection of Waters, in their own Tongue, the *Seven Seas*. The *Aquileians* received him immediately

diately with open Gates. And all the Cities of *Italy* dispatch'd Ambassadors, chosen from their principal Men: Who, clothed in white Garments, bearing Laurels in their Hands, with the Images each of their Country-Gods, and all the Crowns of Gold dedicated to their Deities, did Homage to *Maximus*, and strewed the Way with Leaves, as he pass'd. The Army, likewise, that had lately besieged the City, came before him with Laurels, in a Shew of Peace; not with universal Sincerity of Heart, but, necessitated by the Prince's present Fortune, with feign'd Affection and pretended Honour. For the greatest part were secretly stung with Indignation, and grieved to think the Emperor they chose was cut off, and those elected by the Senate were invested with the Supreme Power. The first two Days after his Arrival at *Aquileia* were spent by *Maximus* in public Sacrifices. On the third he convened the whole Army into the Plain; and thus deliver'd himself, from the Rostrum erected for that purpose.

“ The great Advantages arising from your
 “ Repentance, and Reconciliation with the Ro- His
 “ *mans*, you yourselves have already experi- Speech to
 “ enced; being delivered from a State of Ho- the Army.
 “ stility, and received into Peace, and Favour
 “ of the Gods, by whom you have sworn; and
 “ now keeping your Sacrament of Allegiance,
 “ that venerable Mystery of the *Roman* Empire.
 “ It is therefore incumbent on you, to confirm
 “ to yourselves the everlasting Enjoyment of
 “ these Blessings, by preserving inviolate your
 “ Faith to the *Romans* and their Senate; and to
 “ us the Emperors, whom the People and Se-
 “ nate have chosen, on account of our noble
 “ Births

“ Births and Actions, and a long Series of
“ Honours, by which, as by a gradual Ascent,
“ we have arrived, at last, to this highest Of-
“ fice. For the Empire is not the private Pro-
“ perty of one Man; but it is the common In-
“ heritance of the *Roman* People, derived to
“ them from their Ancestors; and in that City
“ has Fortune fix’d the Seat of Sovereignty.
“ All that we have committed to us, is the Dis-
“ pensation of Equity, and the Administration
“ of Public Affairs, in Conjunction with you.
“ If therefore you discharge your Part of the
“ Duty with Decency and just Order, revering
“ and honouring your Superiors; the good Ef-
“ fects of this will be a Life of Prosperity to
“ yourselves, abounding with every thing that
“ is truly desirable; and to all the Inhabitants
“ of the other Provinces, through every Na-
“ tion, and in every City, a lasting Peace and
“ firm Obedience to their Governors. You
“ will live at your own Pleasure, in your own
“ Countries, and be no more exposed to Dan-
“ gers and Difficulties in foreign Lands. To
“ keep the barbarous Nations quiet, shall be our
“ Care. For as we are two Sovereigns, invested
“ with equal Power, domestic Affairs will be
“ the more easily administer’d at *Rome*: And if
“ any Expedition be necessary in foreign Parts;
“ either of us shall be the sooner at hand, in
“ whatever Country our Presence is demanded.
“ Nor let any one of you suspect, that the least
“ Remembrance shall be kept of what has been
“ done, either by you (for you did as you were
“ ordered) or by the *Romans*, or any of the
“ Nations, who, by reason of Grievances, have
“ rais’d Rebellions. Be there henceforth a ge-
“ neral

“ neral Oblivion. Be there mutual Covenants
 “ of solid Friendship; and may the Faith of
 “ good Affection, and perfect Harmony, be e-
 “ verlasting.”

After making this Speech, and promising *Maximus* them large Sums of Money by way of Dona-^{returns to} tive, *Maximus* continued some few Days in A-^{Rome.} *quileia*, and then prepares for his Return to *Rome*. He dismiss'd the Army, commanding every Corps to return to their respective Country and Camp. This done, he sets out for *Rome*, attended by the Imperial Life-Guards, together with the Troops enlisted by *Balbinus*, and the *German* Auxiliaries. In these last he reposed great Confidence, as having formerly gain'd their good Affection, by the Equity and Moderation with which he commanded amongst them, before he was made Emperor. When he came to the City, *Balbinus* met him, with *Gordian Cæsar*; and the Senate and People received him with joyous Acclamations, and attended his public Entrance with all the Pomp of a Triumph.

During the rest of their Reign, they govern'd the City with great Order and Decorum; meeting with universal Applause, both public and private; while all the People rejoiced at their great Happiness, in being bless'd with Princes of illustrious Descent; whose personal Merit render'd them worthy the Imperial Purple. But amidst the general Gladness, the rancorous Hearts of the Soldiers swelled with Malice. They heard, with great Dislike, the Applauses of the People. They esteemed the Nobility of the Emperors a heavy Burden. They could not bear the Thoughts of having Sovereigns given them

them from the Senate. And what added much to their Uneasiness was, that *Maximus* continued the *Germans* in his Service at *Rome*; and always had them about his Person: For they supposed, these were to be their Opposers and Punishers, if they attempted any Treason. They likewise suspected, Treachery might be designing against them; that the *Germans* might, perhaps, circumvent them by some Stratagem; and, having cashiered them, might step into their Places: An Example of which they recollected in *Severus*, who had served the Murtherers of *Per-tinax* in that manner.

The Pre-
torians
rise a-
gainst
Maximus
and *Bal-
binus*.

At the Celebration, therefore, of the *Capito-line* Games, when the Minds of all were taken up with the Public Diversions and Spectacles, the Soldiers, all on a sudden, betray'd their long dissembled Sentiments. Unable to contain their Resentments, and fired with unreasonable Wrath, they came in a Body to the Palace; and made an Assault upon the two old Emperors: Who, unhappily, were not in perfect Friendship and Harmony with each other; but (such is the Lust of Monarchy, and so incommunicable is Sovereign Sway) each endeavoured to encroach on the Authority of his Colleague, and to draw over the Power to himself. *Balbinus* thought himself superior on account of his high Birth, and his two Consulships: On the other hand, *Maximus* presumed on his having presided over the City, and acquired a great Character of Experience in Business. And both were prompted to strive for sole Supremacy by the Patrician Nobility; and the great Number and Interest of their Families. But this unhappy Contention was the Ruin of both: For *Maximus*, being

inform'd,

inform'd, that the Soldiers, whom they call *Prætorian*, were coming to kill him, resolv'd to send for the *German* Auxiliaries then quarter'd at *Rome*, and judged sufficient to resist the Traitors. But *Balbinus*, well knowing the good Affection the *Germans* bore *Maximus*, suspected there was Treachery in the Case, and that some Plot was hatching against his Life: He therefore refused to have them brought, saying, they were not sent for to oppose the Pretorians, but, under that Pretence, to seize upon the Empire, and make *Maximus* Sole Monarch.

While the two Emperors were involved in this fatal Difference, the Soldiers (as we have mentioned) came with one Consent; and the Guards on Duty at Court giving way to them, they broke into the Palace and seized the old Men. They first tore off their Clothes, which were not very grand or pompous, as they were in their own private Apartments; then dragged them naked out of the Palace, abused them in the most scurrilous and shameful manner, beating them, and calling them, in a contemptuous, scoffing Tone, *The Emperors of the Senate*; at the same time plucking them by the Beards and Eye-brows, and treating their naked Bodies with all manner of Indecency. In this ludicrous disgraceful manner they brought them through the midst of the City towards the Camp, not designing even to murder them in the Imperial Palace; but exposing them alive to public Shame, and protracting their Miseries, that they might have a longer and livelier Sense of their Sufferings.

No sooner were the *Germans* told of what *Maximus* was doing, but they snatch'd up their Arms, and flew, with Eagerness, to succour the Princes. *But* *Maximus* and *Balbinus* murdered.

But the Pretorians, being inform'd of their Approach, finish'd their Malice, by murdering them both; whom they had already disgraced and mangled in every Part of their Bodies. This done, they left the Carcasses in the Street; and took up *Gordian Cæsar*; and, as they could not find another at hand, saluted him Emperor; bawling out aloud to the People; That they had only dispatched those, whom they themselves at first disliked for their Sovereigns; and made *Gordian* Emperor, who was the Descendant of old *Gordian*, and whom the *Romans* themselves had forced into the Succession. And, carrying *Gordian* with them, they proceeded to the Camp, shut themselves in, and remained quiet. The *Germans*, upon hearing, that they were kill'd and thrown out, for whose Sake they were advancing against the Camp, not caring to enter into a vain War for Men, who were now no more, faced about, and retired again to their Quarters.

Such was the End of those venerable good old Men; who were unworthily and impiously cut off, after having been promoted to the Imperial Throne, on account of their illustrious Birth, and the better Nobility of their great Merits.

Gordian, being about thirteen Years old, was declared Emperor, and invested with the Sovereign Power of the *Romans*^h.

^h *Zosimus*, lib. i. (contrary to most of the other Historians) relates, that the two *Gordians* were waited for by the Senate after the Death of *Maximine*; but that, they being cast away and drown'd in their Passage from *Africa* to *Rome*, the Senate made young *Gordian's* Son Emperor; but *Maximus* and *Balbinus* conspiring against the Life of the Youth, the Plot was detected, and the Authors and Accomplices of it punish'd with Death.

APPENDIX.

AFTER the Death of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, *Gordian* endeavoured to appease the turbulent Spirits of A. D. 240. the People; and, if not obliterate, at least to weaken, the Memory of their late Confusions and Calamities, by the Celebration of public Sports and Spectacles^a. This he did with such Assiduity, that the first Year of his Reign was taken up with little else, than the frequent Exhibition of all kinds of Scenical Diversions and Gymnastic Exercises. While he was thus employed, the *Carthaginians* raised a Rebellion in favour of one *Sabian*, whom they declared Emperor: But being overcome by *Gordian's* Forces, the Rebels were glad to deprecate the Punishment they feared, and to purchase their Pardon, by delivering up *Sabian* to Justice.

Soon after, a War broke out with the *Persians*; which A. D. 242. occasion'd *Gordian* to collect a numerous Army, and prepare for an Expedition into *Persia*. Before he set out, he married the Daughter of *Timesicles*^b; or, as others, *Mistheus*^c, whom he made Prefect of the Pretorians; and followed his Counsels and Directions, in all Affairs of Importance. *Sapor*, the then King of the *Persians*, was in possession of *Antiochia*, when *Gordian* arrived: But, after several Battles, in which the *Persian* was always worsted, he was forced to retire. *Gordian*, by the good Conduct of his Father-in-law, was so successful, as to drive *Sapor* into his own Territories, and recover all the Eastern Cities, which the *Persian* had taken from the *Romans* before the Arrival of their Emperor. But this Success of *Gordian*, which depended so entirely on the good and wise Administration of his Father-in-law, was soon interrupted by the old Man's Death; in whose stead *Philip*, an *Arabian*, was prefer'd to the Prefecture.

^a *Jul. Capitol. & Aurel. Victor. in Gordiano, & Zosimus, lib. i.*

^b *Jul. Cap.* ^c *Zosim.*

A. D. 244. *Philip* was no sooner got into Power, but he began to infect the Minds of the Soldiery with Disaffection to *Gordian*; and he prevail'd so far, by first reducing the Army to Famine, and then laying the Fault on the Emperor's want of Years and Experience, that he got himself declared Co-Emperor with *Gordian*. But, not content with this, and well knowing the Affections of the Army were much alienated from *Gordian*, whom they falsely look'd upon as the sole Cause of their present Distress; he took the Advantage of their Dissatisfaction, and work'd it up to that height, that some of the Mal-contents assassinated *Gordian*; and made room for *Philip's* Son (whose Name too was *Philip*) to be declared Joint-Emperor with his Father.

Marcus. When the Senate were inform'd of *Gordian's* Death, they
A. D. 245. created an Emperor at *Rome*, whose Name was *Marcus*.
Severus But he dying soon after his Election, they chose *Severus*
Hostilianus. *Hostilianus* his Successor; who likewise died immediately after his Accession to the Throne: So that *Philip* and his Son remained in full Possession of the Imperial Dignity.

The two *Philips.* *Philip*, having made a Peace with *Sapor*, returned to *Rome*; but took care to dispatch Messengers before him, to tell the Senate, that *Gordian* died a natural Death; and to acquaint them, that the Army had vested him and his Son with the Imperial Purple. The Senate, tho' they suspected he had been chief Promoter of the Murther, yet as their two new-made Emperors were both dead, and as they feared to oppose the Soldiery, declared *Philip, Augustus*. His Stay at *Rome* was but short; being forced to make an Expedition against the *Carpi*, who were plundering the Towns, and wasting the Countries about the *Danube*. After a few Skirmishes, the Barbarians sued for Peace; which *Philip* readily granted, and returned to *Rome*; where he celebrated the *Secular Games*^d, 1000 Years from the building of the City, himself and his Son being Consuls.

Secular Games.
A. D. 249. Not long after, new Troubles arose in several Parts of the Empire at once. The Oriental Provinces rebell'd in favour of one *Jotapian*, whom they set up for Emperor: And the *Mysians* and *Pannonians* did the same for one *Marinus*; the News of which struck *Philip* with great Fear. However, the Pretenders to the Sovereignty were soon cut off; and *Decius*, a Man of an illustrious Family and great Merit, was sent to *Pannonia*, to enquire into the Causes of the Rebellion, and bring the Ringleaders to condign Pu-

^d *Aurel. Vict.* in *Philip.* *Jul. Cap.* in *Gord. Tertio.* ^e *Eutrop.* nishment.

nishment. The *Pannonians*, on account of his great Virtues and Abilities, and by reason of their Disaffection to *Philip*, presented *Decius* with the Imperial Purple, and declared him Emperor. Upon the News of which, *Philip* and his Son marched with a numerous Army against him. But the *Pannonians*, though inferior in Number to *Philip's* Army, yet, excelling them in Prowess, and commanded by a much better General, overthrew the Forces of *Philip*; who, together with his Son, fell in the Battle.

Decius being confirmed in the Empire, made his Son *Decius* his Colleague, and declared him *Augustus*. He effectually suppressed a Civil Commotion in *Gaul*^e; and shewed all the Talents of a wise and active Sovereign; by recovering and reforming whatever the Sloth and Inability of *Philip* had either lost or corrupted. In his Time the *Scythians* plundered the Country about *Thrace*. To chastise whom, *Decius* march'd with his Army; and was successful in several Battles. But being, at last, betrayed by *Gallus*, to whom he had entrusted great part of his Forces, having posted him on the Banks of the *Tanais*, in order to cut off the Enemy's Retreat over that River, he fell into an Ambuscade of the Barbarians; where, being overpowered by Number, he and his Son, after a vigorous and stout Resistance, were slain, and all his Corps cut to pieces.

Gallus, being made Emperor, not only suffered the Barbarians to carry off what Plunder they thought fit; but promised to pay them, yearly, a certain Sum of Money. During his short inglorious Reign, the *Scythians* ravaged great part of the Countries under the Roman Jurisdiction. Which Evil was accumulated with others as grievous. For in his Time the most wasting Pestilence raged in the Empire, that was ever known in any of the former Ages: And the *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations, taking advantage of these Troubles and Calamities, and despising the Roman Power ruled by such a slothful timid Sovereign, took and plundered most of the Cities in *Europe* under the Romans; while the *Persians* did the same by the *Asiatic* Towns. But the Forces in *Pannonia*, commanded by *Æmilian*, made a vigorous and successful Resistance against the Incurfions of the Barbarians; and, with one Consent, made *Æmilian* Emperor; who march'd immediately into *Italy* to give *Gallus* Battle. But *Gallus's* Troops, seeing the Enemy more numerous than themselves, and despising

^e *Entrop.* lib. ix.

the Indolence and Cowardice of their Emperor, kill'd him and his Son, and went over to *Æmilian's* Party.

Æmilian. *Æmilian* wore the Imperial Purple but three Months :
 A. D. 253. For *Valerian* (who had been dispatch'd by *Gallus*, with Orders to bring the *Gallic* and *German* Legions) coming against him, the Soldiers, judging his Abilities much inferior to those of his Competitor, cut him off, and unanimously declared *Valerian* Emperor^f.

Valerian. *Valerian* came to the Sovereignty with the universal Approbation of the whole Empire^g. His Integrity and Abilities had been sufficiently tried in the most important Trusts ; which he always discharged to the Good of the Community and his own Honour. But his Reign was as unfortunate as the former part of his Life had been glorious, being nothing but a continued Scene of Commotions and Troubles. For under him the *Greeks*, who had borne the *Roman* Yoke patiently so many Ages, first thought of fortifying their Towns, and attempting their Freedom. The *Scythians* and *Germans* made frequent Irruptions into the *Roman* Territories. The *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations on the *Danube*, penetrated through *Illyrium* into *Italy*, depopulating the Towns and wasting the Country, and committing all kinds of Outrage and Havock. In the East, *Sapor*, King of the *Persians*, created new Disturbances, and greatly annoyed the *Roman* Provinces. In a word, the whole Empire was in the utmost Danger, Misery, and Confusion. *Valerian* had taken his Son *Gallien* into Partnership in the Sovereignty ; and gave him the Command of the *European* Forces ; while himself went into *Asia*, to obviate the Inroads of the *Scythians* and *Persians*: Against the former of whom he sent *Felix* his Prefect ; while himself opposed, but very languidly, the Force of the latter. *Sapor* had sent Ambassadors to him to desire a Conference, in order to bring about a Peace. To this Proposal *Valerian* was weak enough to consent ; and to go, with a Design to treat with the *Persian* in Person, attended only by a few Guards. When he came to the Place appointed, he was surrounded by the Enemy, and taken Prisoner ; and forced to spend the Remainder of his Life in shameful Captivity in *Persia*.

Valerian
 taken Prisoner by
Sapor.
 A. D. 258.

Gallien's
 unhappy
 Reign.
 A. D. 258.

During these Misfortunes in the East, *Gallien* was employ'd in continual Battles and Skirmishes with the *Germans* on the further side of the *Rhine* ; having committed

^f *Zosim.* lib. ix.

^g *Trebell, Pollio* in *Valerian*.

the Care of the Disturbances in *Greece*, *Illyrium*, and *Italy*, to his Generals. In the mean time, the *Scythians*, taking Advantage of the Captivity of one of the Emperors, and the Absence of the other, divided their Forces into several Bodies, and made Incurfions into different parts of the Empire. Some of them penetrated into *Italy*, and advanced quite to *Rome*. But, the Senate opposing them with a considerable Army, levied for that purpose, they thought fit to retire, and plunder the Country. About the same time, a terrible Pestilence broke out again, and raged with great Violence, carrying off the greatest part of those who escaped the Swords of the Barbarians: So that the *Roman* Empire became a sad Scene of Horror, Misery, Blood, and Desolation. Upwards of five thousand died in a Day at *Rome*, and a proportionate Number in other Cities^b. Add to this, several dreadful and destructive Earthquakes; and the Civil Wars in every Part of the Empire at once. For The thirty there started up no less than Thirty Pretenders to the Imperial Dignity in the several Provinces, who are commonly mention'd under the Title of the *Thirty Tyrants*. Two of these were Women: For *Odenatus*, being made Emperor in the East, for the vigorous and successful Stop he put to the Encroachments of the *Persian*, was at last treacherously slain; and *Zenobia*, his Widow, a Woman of a manly Fortitude, took the Administration of Affairs into her own Hands, and gave several Defeats to *Gallien's* Party in the East. The other Lady, named *Victorina*, hearing her Son and Grandson, who had both worn the Purple, were kill'd by the Soldiers, exhorted *Tetricus* to put up for the Sovereignty in *Gaul*; while herself assisted him, and performed many Exploits of manly Boldness, under the Title of MOTHER OF THE CAMP.

Gallien was so little moved at all these Disturbances, that when the News of any fresh Misfortune was brought him, *Gallien's* he commonly turned it into Jest and Ridicule; being a great Wit, an excellent Poet; but a bad Soldier, and a worse Sovereign. His Father's Captivity gave him no Concern, tho' it affected almost every one else with Shame and Sorrow. At last, he was treacherously assassinated by an Officer, who was employ'd in the Affair by *Heraclian* the Prefect, and *Claudius*, who succeeded him in the Empireⁱ.

Claudius, the first Emperor of the *Constantine* Family, *Claudius*. was a Prince of extraordinary Abilities and Virtues. He A. D. 268,

^b *Trebell. Poll. in Gallieno.*

ⁱ *Zosim. lib. i.*

vanquish'd the *Goths*, and other *Scythian* Nations; who were waſting *Illyrium*, *Macedonia*, and other *Roman* Territories, in prodigious Numbers; but were ſo haraſſed, chaſed, and ſlaughtered by the *Romans*, under this Emperor, that a total Stop was put to their Incurſions and Rapines. His Reign was glorious, but ſhort: For an epidemical Diſtemper raging in the Army, himſelf was ſeized by it, and carried off, before he had worn the Imperial Purple full two Years.

Quintillus
A. D. 270.

His Brother *Quintillus* ſucceeded him; but was cut off by the Soldiers, before he had completed ſeventeen Days of his Reign.

Aurelian.
A. D. 270.

Aurelian was the next that wore the Imperial Purple; a Prince of ſtern Morals and Inflexible Severity. He, by a rigorous and exact Diſcipline, reduced the Army to good Behaviour; and recovered thoſe Provinces his Predeceſſors had loſt^k. He received one great Overthrow in the War with the *Marc-manni*; which was the Cauſe of ſeveral Seditions riſing againſt him at Home. But having retrieved the Miſfortune, and happily ended the War, he haſten'd to *Rome*, to chaſtiſe the Inſurgents; which he did with the moſt inexorable Rigor. This made him rather dreaded than beloved by his Subjects: But the Loofeneſs and Corruption of the former Reigns had cauſed ſuch Confuſion and Miſrule in the Empire, that nothing but a whoſom Severity could purge the State, and eſſect a Reformation. The *Romans* therefore uſed to ſay, *Aurelian* was a good Phyſician to the Commonwealth; but that his Method of Cure was harſh and deſperate^l. He enlarged the City of *Rome*, ſurrounding it with new and ſtrong Walls; and built a moſt rich and magnificent Temple to the Sun, as a Monument of Thanks for the Help afforded him by the *Syrian* God *Elagabalus*, in his Wars with *Zenobia*, *Odenatus's* Widow, who, till his Time, reigned Empreſs in the Eaſt. This Heroine *Aurelian* overthrew; and brought her in Triumph to *Rome*, after putting to death all her Friends, without Mercy or Diſtinction: Amongſt whom was *Longinus* the famous Critic, whoſe Treatiſe *Of the Sublime* is ſtill extant; becauſe he believed him to be the Author of a haughty Letter ſent him by *Zenobia*. Having made himſelf Maſter of the Eaſt, he returned into Europe; where he ſucceſsfully ſuppreſs'd ſeveral Seditions; and repulſed the Barbarians who were overrunning thoſe Parts. After which, he went back

Longinus
the Critic
put to death.

^k *Eutrop. lib. ix.*

^l *Flav. Vopiscus in Aurel.*

again to the East, upon receiving the News of a Rebellion raised at *Palmyra* in favour of *Achilleus*, Kinsman to *Zenobia*. When he came, he rased the City to the Ground; and slew all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children. *Tetricus* still held the Sovereignty in *Gaul*; but being unable to bear the seditious turbulent Spirits of his own Soldiers, he sent privately to *Aurelian*, and betrayed his own Army into his Hands. *Aurelian* was now sole Lord of all the Empire, both Eastern and Western; which he acquired by many dangerous Enterprizes, laborious Marches, and bloody Battles, both with foreign and domestic Enemies. He enter'd *Rome* in a most pompous Triumph, with *Zeno- Aurelian's* *bia* and *Tetricus* his Captives, besides great Numbers of Triumph. Prisoners, of almost all the Barbarian Nations that ever at- A. D. 274. tempted to disturb the *Roman* Dominions. After this he declared War with the *Persians*; against whom he set out on a great Expedition; but was murther'd by the Treache- The manner of his Death. ry of *Mnestheus*, one of his Notaries, between *Heraclea* and A. D. 275. *Byzantium*^m. *Mnestheus* had incurred the Displeasure of his Sovereign, who threaten'd to bring him to speedy Punishment. To prevent which, the Notary, counterfeiting the Emperor's Hand, writes a List of the Names of several Persons, whom *Aurelian* designed to put to death for various Causes; and, withal, mixes the Names of some of the Emperor's greatest Favourites, against whom he had never conceived the least Displeasure; and, to give a greater shew of Reality to the Deceit, inserts his own Name among the rest. This List he carries to each of the Parties concern'd; who, incensed at the Emperor's Ingratitude, (for they supposed the List to be genuine) and terribly alarmed at the Danger, watch'd an Opportunity, and assassinated *Aurelian*; to prevent the Evil they falsely thought he had determin'd against them.

After his Death, the Empire remain'd six Months with- Interregnum out a Supreme; the Army refering the Choice of a new of 6 Months. Emperor to the Senate, and the Senate recommending the A. D. 275. Election back again to the Army: And such a Reformation of Discipline had *Aurelian* made in the Empire, that, during all this time, no Sedition was raised, nor Conspiracy formed, in favour of any particular Candidate. At length, *Tacitus* was elected by the Senate to fill the Imperial *Tacitus* chosen Em- Throne. His Reign was too short to admit any very extraordinary Exploits or Atchievements: For he was trea-

^m *Flav. Vopisc. in vita ejus. Eutrop. lib. ix. Zosim. lib. i.*

cherously cut off, in the sixth Month of his Reign, by some Mal-contents in *Asia*; where he was successfully opposing the Inroads of the *Scythians*; who had pass'd the *Mæotis* or *Dead Lake*, and penetrated through *Pontus* quite into *Cilicia*.

Florian.

A. D. 276.

His Brother *Florian* succeeded him; but was likewise kill'd in less than two Months by his own Soldiers, in favour of *Probus*; who had been declared Emperor in the East, and was hastening to *Tarsus*, to give *Florian* Battle.

Probus.

A. D. 276.

Probus, being settled in the Sovereignty, began immediately to exert all the Qualities of a vigorous and valiant Prince. He entirely routed all the Barbarous Nations, who were over-running the Empire; of whom he slew near five hundred thousand, and drove and pursued the remaining few into their own Territories; where he erected Forts, and held the Natives in awful Subjection. He struck such

A. D. 280.

Terror into all the Nations round about the *Roman* Empire, that nine Kings, of different Countries, came and threw themselves at his Feet; on whom he imposed a Tribute of Provisionsⁿ. He likewise received into the *Roman* Service sixteen thousand Barbarians, and sent them into the Armies in the several Provinces. After effectually clearing *Gaul* of the Barbarians, he march'd into the East; where he was no less successful against all his Enemies, not only foreign, but domestic. For *Saturnine* having usurp'd the Sovereignty in these Parts, he overthrew him in several Battles, and at last utterly extinguish'd him and his Faction. *Bonosus* and *Proculus* raised a Rebellion against him in *Gaul*; but met the same Fate with *Saturnine*^o; as did also the Head of another Sedition in *Britain*. In a word, he put an End to all his Wars, both Civil and Foreign, with that happy Dispatch, and so universally restored and confirmed Peace to the Empire, that he used to say, Soldiers would in a short time be a useless Set of Men. After these great and wonderful Actions in all parts of the *Roman* Dominions, he was at last assassinated in a Mutiny of his Army at *Sirmium*,

Cause of his Death.

A. D. 283.

a Town of *Illyrium*. The Cause of this Mutiny was not only the Saying above-mentioned; but that excessive Activity, with which he kept the Army so incessantly employ'd, that he never suffer'd a Soldier to be idle. So that immoderate Action was as fatal to *Probus*, as the contrary Extreme, of Inaction among the Soldiery, has often been to other Commanders.

ⁿ *Flav. Vopisc. in vita ejus,*

^o *Idem ibid. & Eutrop. lib. ix.*

The Empire was now recovered to it's pristine Grandeur. *Carus.*
For that Reformation, which the Courage and Severity of *A. D. 283.*
Aurelian began, the Valour and Equity of *Probus* had
completed: So that the *Romans* flourished in good Har-
mony at Home; and were dreaded by all the Nations round
about them. In this advantageous Posture of Affairs, *Ca-*
rus, Prefect of the Camps to *Probus*, was chosen Emperor
by the universal Consent of the Army. Immediately after
his Accession to the Throne, he began vigorously to pro-
secute the War against the *Persians*; which *Probus* had de-
signed, and was making Preparations for, when he was as-
sassinated. He made his two Sons *Cæsars*; the elder of
whom, *Carinus*, he sent into *Gaul* to govern in those Parts;
and the younger, *Numerian*, he carried with him against
the *Persians*. He advanced, through *Mesopotamia*, quite to
Ctesiphon, before he met any Opposition: For the *Persians*
were embroil'd in Civil Disorders at Home; which made
them fall an easy Prey to their Enemies. But, prompted
on too much by Success, and pushing his Fortune beyond
his natural Strength, he fell into a dangerous Disease, oc-
casioned by his perpetual forced Marches, and immoderate
Watchings. In his Sickness, a sudden Storm arose, so ter-
ribly black, that one Man could not distinguish another,
but by the frequent Flashes of Lightning, intermix'd with
loud Thunders. During this tempestuous Commotion of Different
the Heavens, the Emperor expired; which gave Occasion Reports of
to some to report he was struck with a Thunder-bolt; but his Death.
others affirm, he died a natural Death. *Flavius Vopiscus*
intimates, that the Report of the Emperor's being kill'd
by Thunder, was occasion'd by a vulgar Superstition that
prevail'd in those Times; That it was decreed by Fate,
the *Romans* should never be able to stretch their Dominion
farther East than *Ctesiphon*.

His Son *Numerian* was declared Emperor in his stead, *Numerian.*
while *Carinus* continued in *Gaul*; where he had been left *A. D. 285.*
by his Father, with full Power, as *Augustus*, tho' with only
the Title of *Cæsar*. *Numerian*, soon after his Father's
Death, was afflicted with so violent a Distemper in his
Eyes, that, when the Army was on their March, he was
obliged to be carried in a Litter. His Father-in-law, *Ar-* *Aper's*
rius Aper, taking the Advantage of this Indisposition, con- *Treason.*
spired, with a Faction in his Interest, to dispatch the Youth,
and make himself Emperor. The Conspirators executed
the Design; and, having murder'd *Numerian*, and not
judging it advisable to reveal his Death to the Army, kept
his

his dead Body still in the Litter, and carried it in the same Order as when living. The Soldiers often enquired after their Sovereign's Health; but were always answer'd, That he was alive, but that his ocular Disorder grew so bad, that he could not suffer the least Glimpse of Light. But the Stench of the Coarse, at length, betray'd the Treason; and the Soldiers, finding the Emperor was dead, immediately accused *Aper* of the Murther.

Diocletian.

A. D. 285.

Carinus's
Luxury.

In this Confusion they unanimously nominated *Diocletian* for his Successor; a Man of great Reputation in the Army, tho' descended from very mean and obscure Parentage. Having mounted the Tribunal, and made a Speech to the Soldiers, as usual, he immediately drew his Sword, and stab'd *Aper* in the sight of the whole Army, as the Author of *Numerian's* Death. All this time *Carinus* was in *Gaul*, pursuing the bestial Pleasures of Luxury, Lust, and Cruelty, without any Regard to the Posture of Affairs. He seem'd to have rejected the Charge of Government, as a Load too weighty for his Shoulders; and to be so entirely abandoned to Vice and Indolence, as to have rendered himself insensible of any Notions of Glory and Empire. But, upon hearing the News of his Father's and Brother's Deaths, and of *Diocletian's* Accession to the Sovereignty, he advances immediately to meet him, with all his Powers. Several Battles were fought; the last of which was at *Margus*, a Town in *Mæsia*, in which *Carinus* fell, being deserted by his own Army.

Carausius

made Em-
peror in
Britain.
A. D. 287.

Maximian
made Joint-
Emperor
with *Dio-*
cletian.

Soon after this, *Maximian Herculus*, whom *Diocletian* had made *Cæsar*, ordered *Carausius*, Commander in Chief of the *Roman* Marine in the *British* Channel, to be put to death for Mal-administration. *Carausius*, to escape the impending Punishment, raised a Rebellion; and, vesting himself with the Imperial Purple, seized upon the Island of *Britain*. At the same time, new Troubles arose in *Egypt*, *Africa*, and the Oriental Nations. In this turbulent State of Affairs, *Diocletian* takes *Maximian* Partner in the Empire, and, from *Cæsar*, makes him *Augustus*; at the same time making *Constantius*, Grandson to *Claudius*, and *Maximian Galcrius*, *Cæsars*. In this Disposition of the Government *Diocletian* marches against *Achilleus*, the Pretender, in *Egypt*; whom he overcame and put to death; and punish'd the *Egyptians*, for their Rebellion, with great Severity. *Maximian*, his Colleague, had the like good

Success in *Africa*, where he slew the several Pretenders, and put an End to the War. While the two *Augusti* were thus employed, the two *Cæsars* were not idle in their respective Provinces. One of them, *Constantius*, slew sixty thousand Enemies in *Gaul*. The other, *Galerius*, after several Battles in the East with various Success, was routed near *Carrhæ*, and forced to fly for Succour to *Diocletian*. But, not long after, he retrieved this Disgrace, by an important Victory gain'd over the *Persians*; by which he acquired no less Wealth than Honour.

During these Successes in other Parts of the Empire, *Carausius* still remain'd Master of *Britain*; till he was treacherously murdered by *Allectus*; who succeeded him in the Government of our Island. At the End of three Years *Allectus* was cut off, and *Britain* recovered again to the Emperors; who ruled the *Roman* State about twenty Years with a wonderful Cunning, join'd to a rigorous Severity. But *Diocletian* growing old, and unfit for Empire, both he and *Maximian* resign the Sovereignty, and retire into a private Life: In which State *Diocletian* remained till his Death; but *Maximian* return'd again to *Rome*, as we shall relate in its proper Place.

Upon the Resignation of *Diocletian* and his Colleague, the two *Cæsars*, *Constantius* and *Galerius*, were declared *Augusti*; and *Severus* and *Maximine* were created *Cæsars*. The two Emperors divided the Empire between them: *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Africa*, were to be govern'd by *Constantius*; *Illyrium*, and all the *Asiatic* Dominions, by *Galerius*. Not long after, *Constantius*, declining the Toil of too extensive Government, ceded *Italy* and *Africa* to his Colleague; and came himself over into *Britain*; where he died at *York*; and *Constantine*, his Son, by an obscure Mother, was chosen his Successor in *Britain*. When the News of this came to *Rome*, the Pretorian Soldiers declared *Maxentius* Emperor. This *Maxentius* was Son of *Maximian Herculus*, the late Emperor, who, with *Diocletian*, had resign'd the Imperial Sovereignty, and was then in Retirement in *Lucania*. *Galerius* dispatches *Severus Cæsar* with his Powers to *Rome*, to oppose *Maxentius*; but, on his Approach to the City, his own Officers deserted his Cause; and it was with great Difficulty he escaped with Life to *Ravenna*. Soon after, he fell into an Ambuscade laid for him by *Maxentius*, and was taken and put to death.

Maximian

Maximian
comes out
of his Re-
tirement.
A. D. 310.

Maximian, hearing the Progress of his Son's Affairs, comes out of his Retirement; and endeavours to persuade his old Colleague to join with him, and resume the Imperial Purple. But *Diocletian* declining the Proposal, he tampered with the Soldiery, in order to prevail with them to depose his Son *Maxentius*, and replace him on the Imperial Throne. But being detected and repulsed, he fled to *Constantine*, who was then in *Gaul*; and, having given him his Daughter *Fausta* in Marriage, he persuades him to attack *Galerius* in an open War; and at the same time to endeavour, by covert Measures, to take *Maxentius* out of the way. His Design in all this was, that while his Son and Son-in-law were mutually opposing each other, he might watch an Opportunity of oppressing them both, and seizing on the Empire. But his treacherous Plot against *Constantine's* Life being discover'd by *Fausta* to her Husband, he was obliged to fly to *Marseilles*; where he was taken, and put to death.

A. D. 312.
Constantine,
Maxentius,
Maximine,
and *Licinius*.

During these Transactions *Galerius* died, after having taken one *Licinius*, his Acquaintance, as Partner in his Power: So that the Roman Empire was now ruled by four Princes, *Constantine*, *Maxentius*, *Maximine*, and *Licinius*. While the two latter were opposing each other, several Battles were fought between the Forces of the two former, in which *Maxentius* was generally worsted. But the last decisive Stroke was given at *Rome*, when *Constantine*, with an Army of 90,000 Foot, and 8000 Horse, engaged and overthrew *Maxentius*, who had no less than 170,000 Foot, and 18,000 Horse. This great Victory is differently reported by *Pagan* and *Christian* Writers, to be portended by a miraculous Sign from Heaven. The former say, A great Flock of Owls fled through the Air, and settled on the Walls of the City just before the Battle. The latter will have it, that an Apparition of a Cross was seen in the Sky, with this Inscription;

Maxentius
overthrown
by *Constantine*.
A. D. 313.

IN THIS CONQUER.

Maxentius, having lost the greatest part of his Army, was endeavouring to retreat with the Remainder into the City; but when he was upon the *Milvian* Bridge, the Weight of the great Crouds of the flying Soldiers brake down the Bridge; and himself, with great Numbers of his

1 *Zosim.* lib. ii.

2 *Euseb.* de vit. *Constant.* lib. i. cap. 22.

Followers, perish'd in the *Tiber*. He was afterwards taken up; and his Head, stuck on a Pole, was carried through the Streets of *Rome*, to strike the greater Terror into his Favourers. Some of his chief Friends were executed; the Pretorians were all broke, and their Garrisons demolished. Matters being thus settled at *Rome*, *Constantine* went into *Gaul*. When he came to *Milan*, he sent for *Licinius*, and concluded an Affinity with him, by giving him his Sister *Constantia*, whom he had promised him before, when he desired his Assistance against *Maxentius*. *Licinius* had been for some time engaged in a Civil War with *Maximine* and his Party. The Dispute was at last decided, by a sharp and bloody Battle in *Illyrium*; in which *Licinius*, at first, had the Disadvantage; but having rallied his disorder'd Troops, and returned to the Charge with fresh Vigor, he entirely routed *Maximine*; who fled into *Asia*, and died at *Tarsus*.

By his Death, the Empire came wholly under the Government of *Constantine* and his Brother-in-law *Licinius*.^{*Constantine and Licinius,*} But *Constantine*, not brooking a Partner in his Throne,^{*A. D. 319.*} soon found Occasion to quarrel with *Licinius*. Their Enmity daily encreased, till they came to an open Rupture. The first Battle between them was at *Cibalis*, a Town in *Pannonia*; where *Licinius* was worsted, and forced to fly into *Thrace*. *Constantine*, after settling Affairs in *Pannonia*, passes over the River *Save* into *Thrace*. But *Licinius*, having recruited his Army, by the Assistance of *Valens*, whom he had created *Cæsar*, made a strenuous Stand against *Constantine's* Power. After a drawn Battle, a new League was struck between them; and the Empire divided, upon Condition that *Valens* should be delivered up to *Constantine* to be put to death; which was done accordingly. The Peace thus concluded, two Sons of *Constantine*, one named *Crispus*, by *Minervina* his Concubine; the other *Constantine*, a mere Infant; together with *Licinianus*, Son to *Licinius*; were all three created *Cæsars*. *Constantine*, being by this Division Emperor of the West, gain'd many great Victories over the Barbarians; after which he went into *Theffalonica*, and prepared for another War against *Licinius* in the East; whom he overcame so often, and pursued so closely, that *Licinius* was, at last, forced to surrender himself at *Nicomedia*, and beg his Life. This, at first, was granted; but, whether it was for fear of future Disturbances, or by reason of the implacable Animosities, and utter Hatred, between the

the zealous Professors of *Paganism*, and those of *Christianity*, *Licinius* always favouring the former as the establish'd Religion of his Country, and *Constantine* most inclining to the latter, whatever was the Motive (for, in such a Variety of Reports, 'tis hard to find the Truth)

A. D. 325. *Constantine* was soon after prevail'd with to have *Licinius* strangled.



A

Chronological Table

OF THE

ROMAN AFFAIRS

FROM

The BUILDING of the CITY,

TO

The Reign of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

	Year	
	of the City.	before Christ.
R OME built,	1	751
<i>Romulus</i> , 1 st King of <i>Rome</i> , disappear'd, supposed to be murther'd by the Senate,	37	715
An Interregnum of one Year,	38	714
<i>Numa Pompilius</i> , 2 ^d King, began his Reign,	39	713
reign'd 43 Years and died,	81	671
<i>Tullus Hostilius</i> , 3 ^d King, began his Reign,	81	671
<i>Long Alba</i> demolished,	87	665
<i>Tullus</i> , having reign'd 32 Years, is kill'd by Lightning,	114	638
<i>Ancus Martius</i> , 4 th King, dies, after a Reign of 24 Years,	138	614
<i>Lucius Tarquinius Priscus</i> , 5 th King, reign'd 38 Years, and was kill'd,	176	576
<i>Servius Tullius</i> , 6 th King, after he had reign'd 44 Years, was murther'd,	220	532
<i>Lucius Tarquinius Superbus</i> , 7 th and last King of <i>Rome</i> , in the 25 th Year of his Reign, is expell'd the City,	245	507

In

	Year of the City.	before Christ.
In this first Year of the <i>Roman Liberty</i> , there were no less than five Consuls. For <i>Tarquinius Callatinus</i> being obliged to resign his Office, <i>Valerius Poplicola</i> was substituted in his room; and <i>Brutus</i> being slain in the first Battle against <i>Tarquin</i> , <i>Spurius Lucretius</i> was his Successor; but he dying soon after, <i>Horatius Pulvillus</i> was chosen in his stead.		
The Lands of <i>Tarquin</i> seized, and dedicated to <i>Mars</i> , under the Title of <i>Campus Martius</i> ,	246	506
The first mention of Dictators, and their Masters of the Horse,	253	499
The Commons raise a Sedition; and, having retired to the <i>Aventine Mount</i> , are at length appeased by the Creation of new Magistrates, stiled <i>Tribunes of the Commons</i> ,	260	492
<i>Coriolanus</i> , the <i>Roman General</i> , having been banish'd, returns with an Army of the <i>Volsicians</i> to destroy the City; but is dissuaded from his Purpose, by the Prayers of his Mother,	266	486
The Consular Power ceased; and ten Men were chosen, to make standing Laws, in Writing, and govern the State by them, under the Title of <i>Decemviri</i> ,	303	449
The Consular Government is renew'd, on account of the Insolence of <i>Appius</i> , one of the <i>Decemviri</i> ; who attempted to debauch the Daughter of one <i>Virginus</i> , till the Father stab'd her with his own Hand,	306	446
<i>Tribunes of Soldiers with Consular Power</i> , created,	313	439
The Consular Government ceased; and Military Tribunes with Consular Power held the Administration of Affairs for 15 Years,	347	405
Consuls chosen again,	362	390
are discontinued again, and the Military Tribunes govern for 15 Years more,	364	388
<i>Rome</i> taken and burnt by the <i>Gauls</i> ,	365	387
The City was in a State of Anarchy, having no Supreme Governors for five Years,	379	373
Military Tribunes resume their Power,	384	368
		Military

A Chronological Table.

17

	Year of the before City. Christ.	
Military Tribunes are entirely laid aside; and Prætors and Ædiles of State are created; and one of the Consuls chosen from the Plebeians,	389	363
The War with <i>Pyrrhus</i> , King of <i>Epirus</i> , be- gun,	471	281
Elephants first seen in <i>Italy</i> ,	472	280
The Beginning of the first <i>Punic</i> War,	488	264
The first Sea-fight of the <i>Romans</i> ,	493	259
Peace made with the <i>Carthaginians</i> ,	511	241
<i>Sardinia</i> taken; and the Temple of <i>Janus</i> shut,	518	234
<i>Saguntum</i> sack'd by <i>Hannibal</i> ,	533	219
The second <i>Punic</i> War. <i>Hannibal</i> enters <i>Ita-</i> <i>ly</i> ; and beats the <i>Romans</i> in two Battles, the first at the River <i>Ticinus</i> , the second near where the <i>Trebia</i> runs into the <i>Po</i> ,	534	218
<i>Hannibal</i> gains another Victory, at the Lake <i>Thrasymene</i> , where the Consul <i>Flaminius</i> is kill'd, and his Army cut to pieces,	535	217
He beats the Proprætor <i>Centenius</i> ,	535	217
He gives the <i>Romans</i> a memorable Overthrow at <i>Cannæ</i> ,	538	214
He advances to within three Miles of the City, <i>New Carthage</i> , in <i>Spain</i> , taken by <i>Scipio</i> from the <i>Carthaginians</i> ,	543	209
<i>Sicily</i> , <i>Tarentum</i> , and great part of <i>Italy</i> , re- cover'd by the <i>Romans</i> ,	545	207
The <i>Carthaginians</i> are driven from <i>Spain</i> ,	549	203
The Mother of the Gods brought to <i>Rome</i> ,	550	202
<i>Scipio</i> , in Alliance with <i>Masanissa</i> , beats <i>Scy-</i> <i>phax</i> , <i>Asdrubal</i> , and the <i>Carthaginians</i> ; <i>Hannibal</i> returns into <i>Africa</i> ,	551	201
<i>Hannibal</i> is overthrown by <i>Scipio</i> ,	552	200
The End of the second <i>Punic</i> War,	553	199
The Beginning of the <i>Macedonic</i> War with King <i>Philip</i> ,	554	198
<i>Philip</i> is beaten,	557	195
<i>Hannibal</i> flies to King <i>Antiochus</i> ,	558	194
<i>Antiochus</i> , by <i>Hannibal's</i> Instigation, having made War with the <i>Romans</i> , is, at last, en- tirely conquer'd, in <i>Asia</i> , by <i>Scipio</i> , sur- named <i>Asiaticus</i> , Brother to <i>Scipio Africanus</i> ,	563	189

	Year of the City. before Christ.	
The <i>Gellegræci</i> , or <i>Galatians</i> , conquer'd in two Battles,	565	187
The Beginning of the second <i>Macedonic</i> War,	583	169
<i>Macedonia</i> subdued by the <i>Romans</i> ,	586	166
The Beginning of the third <i>Punic</i> War,	602	150
<i>Carthage</i> taken and burnt by <i>Scipio Æmilianus</i> , Grandson, by Adoption, of <i>Scipio Africanus</i> ,	606	146
<i>Corinth</i> taken and burnt,	608	144
The War with the Slaves in <i>Sicily</i> ,	617	135
<i>Numantia</i> destroy'd by <i>Scipio Æmilianus</i> ,	620	132
<i>Aristonicus</i> conquer'd by the Consul <i>Perperna</i> in <i>Asia</i> ,	624	128
The <i>Allobroges</i> in <i>Gaul</i> subdued,	632	120
The <i>Jugurthine</i> War,	643	109
<i>Jugurtha</i> brought Captive to <i>Rome</i> ,	647	105
The War with the Allies, call'd the <i>Social War</i> ,	663	89
<i>Mithridates</i> makes War with the <i>Romans</i> ,	664	88
The Beginning of the Civil Wars blown up by <i>Marius</i> , <i>Cinna</i> , and <i>Sylla</i> ,	666	86
<i>Marius</i> is routed, and lies hid in the Marshes of <i>Laurentum</i> ,	667	85
He re-enters the City, and is made the seventh time Consul, with <i>Cinna</i> ,	668	84
<i>Sylla</i> , having beaten the Generals of <i>Mithridates</i> in <i>Greece</i> , goes into <i>Asia</i> , and obliges the King to take such Terms as he thought fit to impose; after which he returns into <i>Italy</i> ,	671	81
<i>Telcrinus</i> , General of the <i>Samnites</i> , is conquer'd by <i>Sylla</i> ,	672	80
<i>Sylla</i> makes himself Dictator; which Office he afterwards lays down of his own accord,	673	79
<i>Nicomedes</i> , King of <i>Bitthynia</i> , dies, and leaves the <i>Roman</i> People his Heir,	679	73
<i>Lucullus</i> conquers <i>Mithridates</i> at <i>Cyzicus</i> ,	680	72
The War with the Gladiators under <i>Spartacus</i> ,	681	71
The War with the Pirates committed to <i>Pompey</i> ,	685	67
He carries on the War against <i>Mithridates</i> ,	687	65
<i>Crete</i> reduced,	688	64
The Conspiracy of <i>Catiline</i> , in the Consulship of <i>Cicero</i> ,	691	61

A Chronological Table.

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	Year	
	of the City.	before Christ.
<i>Cæsar</i> obtains the Province of <i>Gaul</i> ,	696	56
The Beginning of the Civil Wars between <i>Pompey</i> and <i>Cæsar</i> ,	704	48
The Battle at <i>Philippi</i> ,	705	47
<i>Ptolemy</i> , King of <i>Egypt</i> , conquer'd by <i>Cæsar</i> ,	706	46
The decisive Battle at <i>Munda</i> ,	709	43
<i>Julius Cæsar</i> is stab'd in the Senate-house,	710	42
<i>Octavius Cæsar</i> made Consul one Day before he was twenty Years old,	711	41
The Battle with <i>Brutus</i> and <i>Cassius</i> in <i>Macedonia</i> ,	712	40
The Sea-fight at <i>Actium</i> , and the Beginning of <i>Augustus Cæsar</i> 's Reign,	723	29
OUR SAVIOUR born,	752	After Christ.
The End of the Reign of <i>Augustus Cæsar</i> ,	767	15
<i>Tiberius</i> ,	790	38
<i>Caligula</i> ,	794	42
<i>Claudius</i> ,	807	55
<i>Nero</i> ,	821	69
<i>Galba</i> ,	822	70
<i>Otho</i> ,	822	70
<i>Vitellius</i> ,	823	71
<i>Vespasian</i> ,	832	80
<i>Titus</i> ,	834	82
<i>Domitian</i> ,	849	97
<i>Nerva</i> ,	851	99
<i>Trajan</i> ,	870	118
<i>Adrian</i> ,	891	139
<i>Antoninus Pius</i> ,	913	161
<i>M. Antonin. & L. Verus</i> ,	923	171
<i>M. Antoninus</i> alone,	932	180
<i>Commodus</i> ,	945	193
<i>Pertinax</i> ,	946	194
<i>Julian</i> ,	946	194
<i>Severus</i> ,	965	213
<i>Antoninus Caracallus</i> ,	971	219
<i>Macrinus</i> ,	971	219
<i>Heliogabalus</i> ,	975	223
<i>Alexander</i> ,	988	236
<i>Maximine</i> ,	992	240
<i>Maximus and Balbinus</i> ,	991	239
<i>Gordian</i> ,	997	245
<i>Marcus</i> ,	997	245
B b 2		The

	Year	
	of the City.	after <i>Christ</i> .
The End of the Reign of <i>Severus Hostilianus</i> ,	998	246
<i>The two Philips</i> ,	1002	250
<i>The Decii</i> ,	1004	252
<i>Gallus</i> ,	1005	253
<i>Æmilian</i> ,	1006	254
<i>Valerian</i> the elder, (who was taken Prisoner, and kept in Cu- stody till his Death, by <i>Sapor</i> , King of the <i>Persians</i>)	1010	258
The End of the Reign of <i>Gallicn</i> ; in whose Time thirty Tyrants usurp'd the Govern- ment, two of which were Women,	1020	268
The End of the Reign of <i>Claudius</i> ,	1022	270
<i>Quintillus</i> ,	1022	270
<i>Aurelian</i> ,	1027	275
An Interregnum of six Months,	1027	275
The End of the Reign of <i>Tacitus</i> ,	1028	276
<i>Florian</i> ,	1028	276
<i>Probus</i> ,	1035	283
<i>Carus</i> ,	1037	285
<i>Numerian</i> and <i>Carinus</i> ,	1037	285
<i>Diocletian</i> holds the Sovereignty alone 1 Year,	1038	286
<i>Carausius</i> makes himself Emperor in <i>Britain</i> ; and <i>Diocletian</i> takes <i>Maximian</i> Partner in the Empire,	1039	287
<i>Carausius</i> is kill'd by <i>Allectus</i> ; who succedes him in the Government of <i>Britain</i> ,	1046	294
<i>Britain</i> is recover'd to <i>Diocletian</i> and <i>Maxi- mian</i> ,	1049	297
<i>Diocletian</i> and <i>Maximian</i> resign the Imperial Dignity and go into Retirement; and <i>Con- stantius</i> and <i>Galerius</i> are chosen their Suc- cessors,	1058	306
<i>Constantius</i> and <i>Galerius</i> having divided the Empire, the former dies at <i>York</i> in <i>Britain</i> ,	1060	308
His Son <i>Constantine</i> succedes him in <i>Britain</i> ,	1060	308
<i>Maximian</i> returns from his Retirement to <i>Rome</i> , upon hearing his Son <i>Maxentius</i> was declared Emperor by the Guards,	1062	310
<i>Maxentius</i> is overthrown by <i>Constantine</i> ,	1065	313
<i>Constantine</i> conquers <i>Licinius</i> , his Sister's Hus- band, who is afterwards murdered, and <i>Constantine</i> remains sole Emperor,	1077	325

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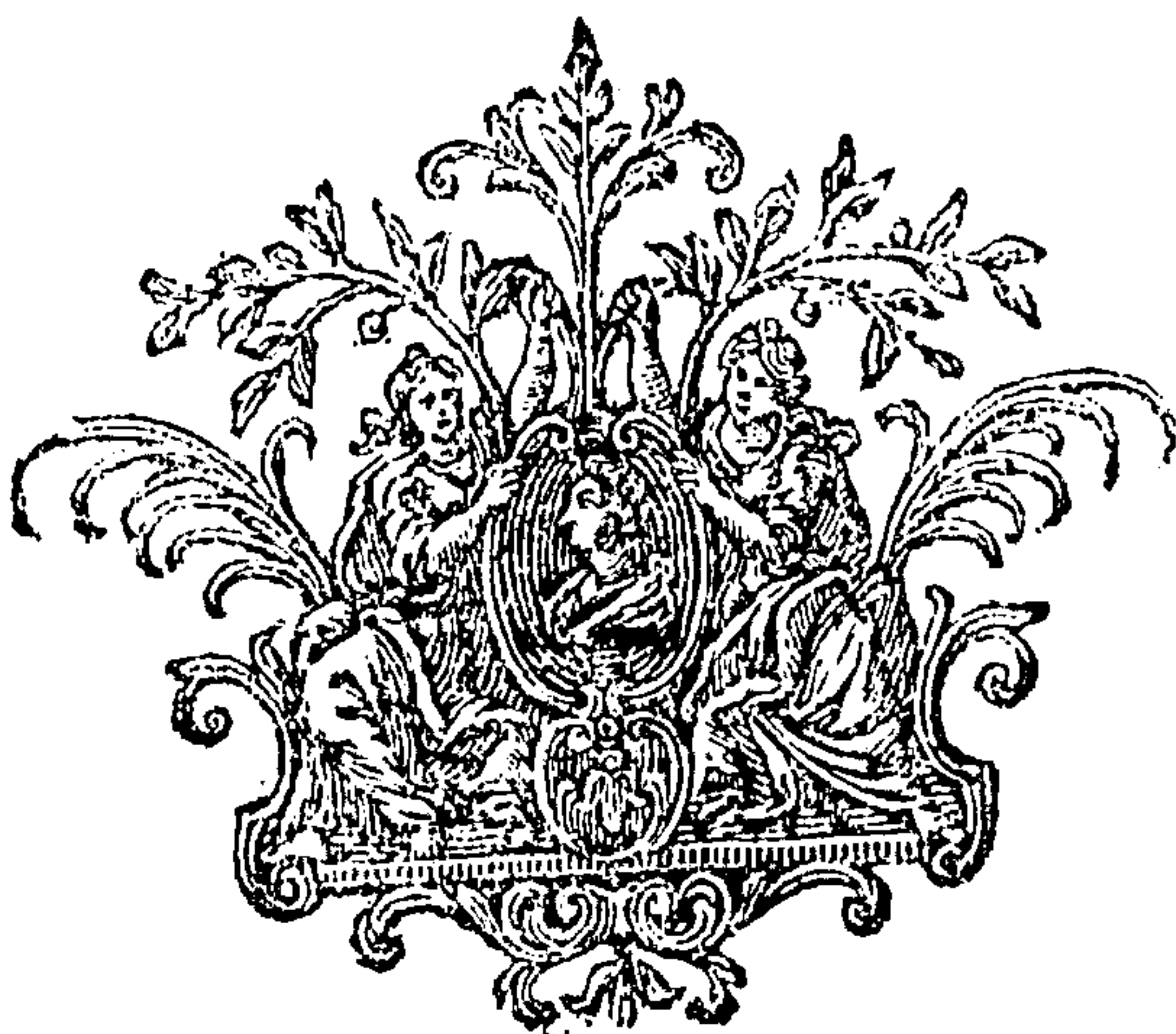
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E R R A T A.

Introduct. Page 20, Line 15, &c. for *Cataline* read *Catiline*.
———— Page 27, Line 16, for *Dissentions* read *Dissensions*.
———— Page 33, Line 6, for *Peperna* read *Perperna*. Line 32,
for lib. 29, read lib. 59.

Page 31, Line 2, for *Secresy* read *Secrecy*.
Page 76, Line 30, read, *But tho' he is dead, you shall be always*.
———— Line 33, dele *my*.
Page 133, Line 23, after *were* read *instituted*.
Page 181, Line ult. for *Pelopidas* read *Pelopidâ*.
Page 227, Line 39, for *Ashterob* read *Ashteroth*.

Append. Page 10, in the Margin, for *Ceraufius* read *Caraufius*.

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